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H I S T O R Y

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N E T H E R L A N D S.

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
UNITED PROVINCES
OF THE
NETHERLANDS,

FROM THE DEATH OF PHILIP II. KING OF SPAIN,
TO THE TRUCE MADE WITH ALBERT AND ISABELLA.

By WILLIAM LOTHIAN, D.D.

ONE OF THE MINISTERS OF CANONGATE.

DUBLIN:

Printed for Messrs. W. and H. WHITESTONE, WALKER,
JENKIN, E. CROSS, WHITE, and BEATTY.

MDCCCLXXX.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

UNITED PROVINCES



THE HISTORY

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P R E F A C E.

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THE Revolt of Seven Provinces in the Netherlands from the Dominion of Philip II. King of Spain, and the Establishment of these Republics, are remarkable events in modern history. The United Provinces, though of small extent, and an inconsiderable part of a great empire, not only opposed the measures of the most powerful Monarch then in Europe; carried on war for many years; and even, during that time, increased in wealth and importance; but likewise reduced those who once possessed the Sovereignty, to treat with them as free States; and, at last, to abandon enterprizes in which the utmost efforts had been, in vain, exerted. The causes which produced this Revolution, and the means employed by the Confederates to preserve their liberties, and acquire independence, merit attention.

DETACHED portions of this interesting History have been given us in several languages; and, by many writers, some of the facts are related incidentally, as they were

were connected with the affairs of other nations. But we do not, from these sources, receive full information. The claims of the Confederates are not traced back to the constitution long established in the Netherlands; those occurrences only which had the most obvious influence in accelerating or retarding a change, are mentioned; and many circumstances necessary to be known, in order to perceive with what justice the Prince acted, and with what truth the subjects asserted a title to enjoy certain rights and privileges, are wholly omitted.

It was my intention to supply these defects, by showing, in a short Review of the state of the Provinces, from the earliest accounts to the accession of Philip, what was the ancient form of Government, and on what grounds the mutual demands of the parties were founded; by giving a distinct detail when the scene becomes more animated; by pointing out the resources of the Confederates in a long struggle; and by marking the causes of that success with which it was crowned.

I WAS far advanced in the prosecution of this design, when Dr. Watson published the History of the Reign of Philip II. The affairs of the United Provinces occupy a conspicuous place among those of Europe during

during that reign. But such a General History does not render the particular illustration of a subject which affords much matter for useful reflection unnecessary. It closes, too, at an æra when the contest still continued, and the issue was very uncertain. The vigorous opposition of the Confederates to Albert and Isabella, to whom Philip had transferred the Sovereignty of the Netherlands; the erection of an East India Company; the progress of a very beneficial commerce, and the acquisition of settlements in the Indies; a negotiation for peace, conducted with great address on one side, and firmness on the other; the sentiments and aims of neighbouring Princes who interposed on this occasion; and a truce made with the United Provinces, AS FREE STATES, are transactions which happened after the death of Philip, and during the period assigned to the following volume. I submit it to the judgment of the Public with diffidence; and I wait the decision with the anxiety natural to an Author on his first attempt.

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T H E

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
UNITED PROVINCES
OF THE
NETHERLANDS.

BOOK I.

THE NETHERLANDS enjoyed, from the most antient times, a free constitution of government. The Seventeen Provinces formed so many independent States; and each preserved its own particular laws and customs. Tho' acknowledging a Prince or Sovereign, his power was limited; and his authority, conferred by the people, was declared to last no longer than he maintained their rights and privileges. When the succession to the chief dignity became confined to one family; when the Sovereignty of all the provinces was held by one person; when they were thus united more closely together, and had one common interest; when these quarrels, unavoidable among separate principalities, became less frequent, they gained more strength, acted with more vigour, and rose to opulence and respect.

BOOK I.

1598.

Short Review of the conduct of Philip II.

BOOK I.
1598.

spect. While these affairs, in which all were concerned, were conducted by the General Estates, where the Representatives of each had a voice, and while the prince restrained the exercise of his power within the bounds prescribed by law, the people, at the same time that they felt their importance, testified their reverence and affection for their Sovereign. But, valuing highly the liberty they possessed, and guarding it with the utmost care, every encroachment upon their freedom was viewed with jealousy, and every attempt to extend the prerogative of the Prince, warmly opposed. When Philip II. of Spain was put in possession of the Netherlands, by the resignation of his father, the Emperor Charles V. he very soon discovered intentions disagreeable to the sentiments of his subjects, and inconsistent with that form of government which he found established in his newly-acquired dominions. A people, unaccustomed to pay implicit obedience, were alarmed with his assuming an authority which they allowed not to his predecessors: Considering themselves as entitled to a large share of the administration, they beheld, with indignation, measures adopted without their concurrence; and, dreading the consequences of permitting any exercise of an usurped power, were disposed early to check every design which arbitrary pleasure might dictate, or an immoderate ambition pursue. When the conduct of Philip appeared to be the result of a determined plan of oppression, and force was employed to procure submission to his commands, a rebellion arose; the injured had recourse to arms, and now, for about thirty years, had supported a war against the invader of their liberties. Seven of the provinces * joined in a strict union; boldly declared that

* Holland, Zealand, Friseland, Overijssel, Gueldres and Zutphen, reckoned but one province, Groningen, and Utrecht.

UNITED PROVINCES.

3

that he had forfeited the Sovereignty; renounced altogether their allegiance; maintained a struggle, in defence of their freedom, with unwearied perseverance; and rejected every proposal of peace with disdain. Philip, tired with the contest, wished to relinquish enterprises in which his utmost efforts had been exerted in vain. That he might save his honour, while he renounced an authority he could not preserve, and have the prospect of the United Provinces becoming part of the dominions of the Spanish Monarchy, though for a time they were transferred to others, he gave his daughter Isabella in marriage to Albert Arch Duke of Austria, who had acted as his governor, and conferred on them a sovereignty he was unable to retain. While he flattered himself that his rebellious subjects would return to obedience under a prince residing among them; hoped that, by his support, opposition would be crushed; and concluded, that the revolted provinces would be again annexed to the Crown of Spain, death prevented him from seeing the effects of a scheme which policy had suggested, and necessity forced him to adopt.

BOOK I.
1598.

PHILIP III. made great preparations for giving powerful aid to his sister, and the Arch Duke. It was said, that in order to enable them to push with vigour the war against the United Provinces, he proposed to assist them with a numerous army, and a formidable fleet. The administration of affairs in Spain was greatly changed. Philip dismissed from Court some, who, during the former reign, were regarded as most able counsellors, and substituted in their place others more agreeable to his own dispositions. The Father thought proper to connive at the Confederates trading with Spain, because of advantage to his Spanish subjects. The

Views of
Philip III.

BOOK I.

1598.

Son discharged this commerce; seized and confiscated the goods of the Confederates; even apprehended many Flemish merchants, who had lived long in Spain, and likewise some Spaniards, who had acted as factors for the Flemings; and, by torture, forced them to give up their effects. As, by this conduct, the price of corn was greatly raised *, which produced loud complaints, he, at last, allowed the Flemings to import corn, but prohibited their carrying back any kind of goods whatever. The freight became of course much higher, and the evil was remedied only in part. Philip II. always endeavoured to live in friendship with the German Princes. His son, imagining, that, by their means, the war in the Netherlands was prolonged, was anxious to deprive the Confederates of their assistance, though certain that he would raise enemies to himself in the empire. At the same time, he thought, that now, when the sovereignty was bestowed on Albert and Isabella, there would be no necessity to remit such large sums, as formerly, from Spain †.

State of
Albert's af-
fairs.

ALBERT pursued the journey he had begun before he received the accounts of Philip's death, and proceeded to Spain, where his marriage with Isabella was celebrated. The terms on which his new dignity was conferred, by rendering him in a great measure dependant on Spain, diminished its value; and the situation of the Provinces afforded him little prospect of enjoying it with tranquillity. He entered upon the supreme administration when a part of these dominions, which Philip pretended to transfer, refused to admit any right

* The same quantity which could be bought in Holland for two hundred florins, was sold in Spain for four hundred and fifty.

† Reidani Annales Belgarum aliarumque Gentium, Lug. Bat. 1633. folio; lib. 15. p. 435. &c.

right he could thus claim, and had long carried on a war in defence of their liberties and independence. They had weakened the strength, almost exhausted the finances, and baffled all the artifices of a most powerful, rich, and cunning prince. Albert had made proposals of peace, which were rejected as insidious; and, when he hoped to recommend himself to those whom he considered as his subjects, had the mortification to observe, that this appearance of moderation was treated by them with contempt. Obligated, therefore, to continue the war, he appointed as governor, during his absence in Spain, Cardinal Andrew, and gave the command of his forces to Francis Mendoza, admiral of Arragon: but, whatever abilities they possessed, he could not expect that they would be able to accomplish a design, which, in circumstances much more favourable than the present, had failed. Even these provinces which acknowledged his jurisdiction, had, at the same time that they owned him as their Sovereign, expressed sentiments, and made demands, sufficient to alarm his fears. They saw the United Provinces encreasing in power and wealth; enjoying liberty; treated with respect, and supported by neighbouring princes. They found themselves, on the contrary, considered, notwithstanding the late transaction, as subjects of Spain: they were loaded with heavy taxes, without any compensation, or hope of relief; and saw, that in spite of all the exertions they had made, their influence and importance were diminished. Albert could not hear their complaints without uneasiness. Conscious of his inability to subdue the Confederates, he would willingly have given up the contest, and been contented with the want of territories which Philip had not power to bestow, if he could secure the obedience of the other provinces. There was
some

Book I. { some danger that, during the present temper of the people, they would imitate the example of their neighbours, whom they beheld with envy, and attempt to shake off a yoke which every day became more burthensome. It was probably owing to these circumstances that Albert continued in Spain for some time after his marriage, with the design of engaging the new Monarch heartily in his interest, and in hopes of procuring that support which his situation required.

1598.

State of
the Confe-
derates.

THE Confederates perceived the intention of Philip in renouncing the sovereignty, and derived fresh spirits and vigour from so clear a proof of the weakness of their enemies. They paid, indeed, heavy taxes; they had been disappointed in their endeavours to find out a passage, by the North, to the Indies *, by which they might reach these countries unmolested by the Spaniards, and acquire a new source of wealth; and they were deprived, by a late treaty between Philip and Henry of France †, of open assistance from that quarter. But they contributed cheerfully to the expence of the war, while they enjoyed freedom: Their naval strength, particularly, had greatly encreased: A fleet sent to the East Indies, by the same route which the Spaniards and Portugeze pursued, had returned, with accounts sufficient to encourage future attempts of the same kind: They hoped to be able, at length, to dispute with Spain the empire of these seas: Their cause was favoured by the neighbouring States; and even the adjoining provinces, with whom they were at war, were tired and discontented. They were still possessed of resources which necessity had discovered, and which had been

* Three voyages made for this purpose in the years 1594, 1595, and 1596, proved unsuccessful.

† The peace of Vervins, concluded 2d May 1598.

been employed with success: their troops were animated with affection for their country, and zeal for the preservation of those liberties they had so long and ably defended; and their army was conducted by Maurice, whom, as the son of William Prince of Orange, the former protector of their liberties, they esteemed, and whose valour and prudence they had now for many years experienced. They refused to listen to any proposals for peace, because they thought that they were designed merely to deceive; and they looked forward to the time when firmness and perseverance would force their enemies to grant honourable terms, and such as would establish their freedom and independence.

BOOK I.
1598.

DURING the greatest part of summer both armies remained inactive. The conquests made by the Confederates the last campaign, put them to so much expence in maintaining garrisons, that they could not bring into the field any considerable number of troops*. They were, on this account, the more willing to part with some of the towns that they had taken. They, accordingly, restored Mœurs and Alpen; the former to the Countess of Mœurs, and the latter to the Countess Dowager Palatine. This disposition encouraged the Archbishop of Cologne to reclaim Rhineberg, and to send John of Nassau, brother to William, Governor of Friseland, to the Hague, as his Commissioner for that purpose. John was chosen for this office, because it was thought that he would have some influence; and he could not refuse to accept the employment, because he held in fief, from

* About 9000 men, *Memoires de Bellievre et Silleri*, p. 451. Maurice had, in the space of three months, taken Rhineberg, Mœurs, Groll, Brefurt, Enscheden, Otmarfen, Oldenzeel, and Linghen.

BOOK I. 1598. from the Archbishop, some places within his territories. The Archbishop pretended, that he had no concern in putting Rhineberg into the possession of the Spaniards*; and therefore, could not be justly charged with any damage which the Confederates suffered by this means; expressed his resentment against the Spaniards for detaining it from him so long; insisted upon recovering his right; and insinuated, that Albert would probably make an attempt upon the town, which was not in a condition to hold out a siege; and, if he should succeed, would have it in his power to do much mischief. The confederates were abundantly sensible of the importance of the place; but, considering that there were other passages over the Rhine, which their enemies could not intercept; and that to put Rhineberg in a posture of defence, would require, not only a long time, but likewise a sum of about three hundred thousand florins†, thought it more adviseable to employ their money in securing their own towns, than to be at such expence with one, which, at last, they must relinquish. They, therefore, told the Archbishop, that they were ready to restore Rhineberg, provided he could procure a promise from Albert, that he would not, for the future, attack any towns, or build any forts in Germany; and, on condition that the German princes would give them security for his fulfilling this engagement§.

ALBERT,

* In the time of the Duke of Parma's Administration, anno 1589—90.

† Ten Flemish florins are nearly equal to one pound Sterling.

§ La Grande Chronique Ancienne et Moderne de Hollande, Zelande, &c. par Jean Francois Le Petit, a Dodrecht, 1601. 2 tom. folio,—Liv. 16. p. 709 and 710.

ALBERT, thinking to give greater weight to the propofals he had made for peace, and occupied with the prospect of his marriage, likewise delayed the undertaking any enterprize of importance, until his army should be reinforced with the troops from the garrisons of fuch towns as were to be delivered up by Henry, in consequence of the late treaty. But, upon the return of these troops, new mutinies arofe. Five hundred Spanish foot, and some horse, who kept the citadel at Antwerp, refused to obey Mexia, their old commander; chose one of their own number to be their General; and demanded twenty-two months pay, as still due to them for their services in Italy and the Netherlands. Though this demand was complied with; yet, not satisfied, they obliged the citizens of Antwerp to give each horseman a florin and a fourth, and each foot soldier the half of that sum, a day; collected a tax upon furniture, rich clothes, and common strumpets; and acted with such licentiousness, that the inhabitants were afraid to refuse them any thing they required. At Lire, the garrison began to murmur. The Walloon regiments, stationed on the borders of Luxemburg, paying no regard to orders, ravaged that country, and continued in their sedition until next year. At Ghent, the garrison behaved more quietly; only they would not allow any addition to be made to their number. But at Grave, the mutiny produced a battle among the soldiers themselves, in which the Germans gained the advantage over the Spaniards, and forced them to submit*.

No

* Historia de las Guerras Civiles que ha auida en los Estados de Flandes, y las Causas de la rebellion, &c. escrita por el Contador Antonio Carnero: en Bruselas, 1625. folio, Lib. 13. cap. 2. & 7.

BOOK I.

1598.
Prepara-
tions for the
war.

No answer having been returned by the Confederates to the overtures for a peace, Cardinal Andrew, by Albert's orders, prepared for taking the field. He drew the troops out of the garrisons where they had committed such disorders; and Albert having raised all the money he could in Spain, upon his own credit, it was distributed in such manner as promised to prevent farther mutinies. An additional number of men, who had left France upon the war being ended by the treaty, were collected; and Mendoza, who had lately come from that country, was dispatched to the Emperor, to make some requisitions in Albert's name, which, if granted, would enable him to attack the Confederates with more hopes of success. These demands were, that his Imperial Majesty should openly declare himself an enemy to all such as retarded the conclusion of a peace in the Netherlands; appoint a Governor and Council for the countries of Cleves and Juliers, to attend to the affairs of those territories, in place of the present Duke, who was disordered in his judgment; publish, as soon as possible, his intentions concerning them; order such princes as pretended a right to them, in the event of the Duke dying without children, to do nothing that might be prejudicial, either to the interests of his Catholic Majesty, or the Imperial authority; and allow six or seven regiments to be raised in the Empire, for the service of the King of Spain. Mendoza received little satisfaction as to these articles. The Emperor reminded him of the repeated endeavours he had used to procure a reconciliation between his Catholic Majesty and the Confederates; and assured him, that he would still continue his good offices. As it was suspected that Philip had some design upon Cleves and Juliers, which he was the more eager to prosecute on account of a marriage being
now

now talked of between Duke John, and a daughter of the Duke of Lorraine, the Emperor's answer, on this head, though cautiously expressed, sufficiently showed his sentiments. He told Mendoza, that he would send one or two persons, true Catholics, and in whom he could confide, to guard against any inconveniencies that might be dreaded; and advised his Majesty to give, on his part, no ground of suspicion. He declined likewise granting a general commission to levy troops through the empire; alleging, that it could not be done while the war with the Turks continued; but said, that he would furnish privately as many as could be conveniently spared*.

MENDOZA, after his return from Germany, gathered together a prodigious army. It consisted of sixty-two companies of Spaniards, nineteen of Italians, two of Irish, four regiments of Germans, each having ten companies, as many of Walloons, and one regiment of Burgundians; all foot, and amounting to near twenty thousand. His horse did not exceed two thousand †, twelve troops being left to protect Brabant. Seven thousand waggons were ready to transport the baggage. The Arch Duke, when he went to Spain, left particular instructions to save the troops as much as possible, and to endeavour by all means to secure a passage over the Rhine, that Holland might be invaded from that quarter, and the army lodged in the enemy's country during the winter; or, if this could not be accomplished, in the territories of Cleves and Juliers. In pursuance of this plan of operations, Mendoza crossed the Maese at Maftricht, proceeded from thence to Ruremonde, and marched

Mendoza
ravages
Cleves.

* Reidan.

† Miniana says, that this army consisted of more than 20,000 foot, and 2500 horse. *Continuatio Marianæ Hist. de Rebus Hispanicis*, p. 402.

BOOK I.

1598.

And takes
Orfoy.

marched directly into Cleves. Wherever he passed, the country was pillaged; for, besides the soldiers, there was such a croud of attendants, most part of whom had followed the army in hopes of getting booty, that the whole number of persons engaged in this expedition amounted to about sixty thousand. Every outrage was committed: money was forced from the inhabitants to relieve them from being plundered; and many of the country people, who could not satisfy the rapacity of these invaders, were treated with the utmost barbarity. Siege was laid to Orfoy, a town situated two hours march from Rhineberg, and on the side of the river next to Cleves. The garrison immediately surrendered, upon Mendoza's making the hangman, and some of his soldiers, stand in their view, with ropes and halters in their hands, as an intimation what would be their fate, if they attempted to make any resistance. Mendoza so far shewed respect to the Duke of Cleves, as to inform him, that he had taken this place, merely to secure his passage over the Rhine; and promised, that he would leave it again in a few days. But, contrary to these declarations, he fortified it more strongly; and part of his troops, crossing the river, erected a fort on the other side*.

Maurice
follows
him.

THE Confederates were greatly alarmed with the Admiral's progress; especially, as it was reported, that he would next lead his army into Holland. Maurice, therefore, resolved to follow him, though he could not assemble above five thousand five hundred foot, and fifteen hundred horse. With these he proceeded to Arnheim, where some of his officers proposed, that he should advance as quickly as possible to Rhineberg, and secure

* Haræi Annales Ducum Brabantiae. Bentivoglio. Reidan. Grotius.

secure that town. But not approving of this scheme, because the enemy might cut off his provisions, and prevent him from receiving any supplies from the neighbouring towns in his interest, this small army encamped at Gueldreswaert, a place commodiously situated for obtaining succours, defending the frontiers of Gueldres and Zutphen, infesting the passes, and putting it out of the power of the Spaniards to force the Confederates to a battle. Maurice, being informed that Mendoza's convoys were approaching near Gueldres, dispatched some of his troops to the Maese, in hopes of intercepting them between Venlo and Orsoy. But, after they had passed the river, he learned, that the Spaniards, suspecting his design, had returned back. However, he so harassed his enemies, that they never dared to venture far from their camp in search of provisions, except into the dioceses of Cologne and Munster, or such places as were at a great distance from the Confederates. He even found means to convey three companies into Rhineberg, and to reinforce the garrisons of Groll, Brefurt, and Doefburg*.

Book I.
1598.
Sept. 13.

ALL this time, the Spanish troops committed every act of licentiousness and violence; in which so far from being restrained, they were rather encouraged by the Admiral himself, who, in one instance particularly, discovered the utmost perfidy and cruelty. Weirach van Daun, Count of Valkeinstein, was proprietor of the castle of Broeck, in the neighbourhood of the Spanish army. He was a subject of the German empire; but, as he professed the Reformed religion, and had, on some occasions, publicly defended the cause of the Confederates, was afraid of being insulted by the Spaniards.

Count Val-
keinstein
treacher-
ously mur-
dered.
11th Octo-
ber.

* Grotii Historiæ de Rebus Belgicis, lib. 7. p. 341. Editio, Amstel. 1657. folio. Reidan, p. 433. Petit. p. 719.

BOOK I.
1598.

Spaniards. On this account, he applied to Mendoza for a protection to his person and goods: Mendoza returned an ambiguous and evasive answer, representing the obligations both of the King of Spain, and the Duke of Cleves, to defend and support the Catholic religion; and assuring the Count, that, while he performed his duty, he would not only be perfectly safe, but be likewise honoured according to his merit, which would be a much better protection than one in writing *. The Count, not chusing to trust entirely to this declaration, placed a hundred soldiers, and about twenty peasants, in the castle, to defend it, in case any violence should be offered; but with express orders carefully to avoid giving any offence. He sent away his wife and daughters in the night time, and intended to remove next day his most valuable effects. But before this was done, his guard having opposed those who were pillaging the country, and killed some of them, afforded Mendoza a pretext for immediately laying siege to the castle. After planting cannon against it, he sent a letter to the Count, complaining that his garrison had attacked the soldiers when they were employed in foraging; and requiring, that either he himself should instantly chastise his men who had been guilty of this injury, or deliver them up to be punished as they deserved. This demand was accompanied with a promise, that, if he would admit a party of Spaniards into his castle, he should not be hurt, either in his person or possessions, as long as the army continued in that quarter. The Count answered, that he knew nothing of the injury of which Mendoza complained; that, if any of his people had done what was alleged, they should suffer

* This is Petit's account: But Reidan says, that Mendoza actually gave the protection desired.

suffer for their insolence; but that he could not put the castle, which he held in fief of the Duke of Cleves, into the hands of the Spaniards, without the Duke's consent. Mendoza, probably well pleased that his demands were rejected, gave orders for the castle being attacked. Lopez, who had the command, advanced his entrenchments to the very walls, and summoned the Count to surrender; offering, at the same time, such conditions as he could not prudently, in his present circumstances, reject. Accordingly, it was agreed, that the Spaniards should be admitted, under a promise, that neither the Count, nor any of his men, should be molested in their persons or effects; and that the soldiers and peasants should march out of the castle without their arms. Lopez, and the other Spanish officers, having entered the castle, were kindly entertained at the Count's table. When his men, however, had laid down their arms, and got into the plain before the gate, they were assaulted by the Spanish cavalry, and almost the whole of them massacred. Others of the Spaniards broke open the rooms in the castle, carried off whatever they found of any value, and took the Count himself prisoner. Sixty or seventy remained as a garrison. A few days after, two of them invited the Count to take a walk with them in the garden, where they treacherously murdered him; and dragging his body to an adjoining hut, which they set on fire, burnt both to ashes*.

THE progress of Mendoza, and the insolent manner in which he acted, could not fail to alarm some of the German Princes. They now saw those countries, which had been regarded as having
no

Proceedings
of the
German
Princes.

* Carnero, Lib. 13. c. 5. observes, that he was a great Heretic, and an enemy to the Spaniards, putting to death such of them as fell into his hands.

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no interest in the war carrying on between Spain and the United Provinces, wasted and plundered. The circle of Westphalia, comprehending the Dukedom of Cleves, was subject to several ecclesiastical principalities, the most considerable of which were held, at this time, by Ernest Duke of Bavaria, Archbishop of Cologne. But he had always favoured the Spaniards; and, on this occasion, did not discover any intention to revenge the injuries which had been committed. On the other hand, the administrators of Cleves, who governed that territory during the insanity of the present Duke, were loud in their complaints, and eager to engage the Princes to take part in the quarrel. For this purpose, a meeting of the Estates of the Dukedom was held, in which it was resolved to desire Mendoza to restore Orsoy; and, if he refused, to order the Count de la Lippe, Commander in Chief of the forces of the circle of Westphalia, not to allow any more troops to be raised for the service of the war in Hungary, but to employ the men already raised, and the money collected for that war, in defending their country against the Spaniards. It was farther agreed, to call an assembly of all the Princes of the five lower Circles, to deliberate what course ought to be followed; and to write to the Emperor, the Imperial Cities, the four Princes Electors of the Rhine, the Duke of Brunswick, and the Landgrave, to solicit their assistance. Deputies from these Princes accordingly met; but nothing farther was determined, than to inform the Emperor of their grievances, and to send commissioners to Mendoza and Maurice, to require both to leave their territories. Mendoza treated this requisition with great contempt. He told the Commissioners, that, such was now the state of affairs, he could not leave Germany; and that it was necessary, by every method whatever, to give
a check

a check to the rebels, who had obstinately rejected all offers of peace, and still kept possession of Rhineberg. He even presumed to advise the Princes to take up arms against the Confederates, as the most effectual means of putting an end to the war, and removing the cause of their complaint. Maurice, on his part, reminded the Commissioners, that the Confederates had shown the highest respect for the empire, by restoring such towns as they held in Germany; that the Spaniards had promised to do the same, but, on the contrary, had kept Rhineberg, which obliged the Confederates to take that town; that the Confederates had, notwithstanding, declared they were willing to relinquish it, if some of the Electoral Princes, or, at least, some of the Princes of the Circle of Westphalia, would engage that the Spaniards should not again seize upon it, or some other town in the neighbourhood. He likewise represented the late conduct of Mendoza; the necessity there now was of uniting together in banishing the Spaniards as a common enemy; and the favourable opportunity afforded at present by the death of the King of Spain, the absence of Albert, and the discontent which prevailed among his troops for want of pay. At the same time he informed the Commissioners, that, if the German Princes would not attend to their own interest, but tamely allow their towns to be occupied by the Spaniards, the Confederates would defend themselves by every method in their power.

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As Mendoza spent much time without attempting to dislodge his enemies, though at eight miles distance only, and especially as winter was approaching, it was imagined his design was to allow Rhineberg to continue so long in the possession of the Confederates, that he might have the fairer pre-

Mendoza
besieges
Rhineberg.

BOOK I.

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text for fixing his quarters in the territories of the empire. But the want of provisions, where the country had been already so much wasted, and the swelling of the Rhine, which damaged the boats used as a bridge over that river, would not permit him to remain any longer inactive. Disregarding the intimations he had received of the displeasure of the German Princes, he resolved to endeavour regaining Rhineberg. With this view, he ordered Barlotta to attack the fort on the island. Schaff, who commanded in the town, had only six hundred men in garrison, whilst a pestilence raged among them, and threatened to do more execution than the enemy. He defended himself, however, with such bravery, that the Spaniards desisted from the attack, for some days. This space Mendoza employed, in trying to bribe him by large promises, to deliver up the place before a siege was regularly formed. Schaff conveyed to Maurice intelligence of these solicitations: but, before an answer could be returned, he was cut off by the pestilence. He had put Mendoza's letters into the hands of his officers, who purposely gave such a return as encouraged the Admiral to repeat the offers. But, when he learned that Schaff was dead, he encamped before Rhineberg with his whole army, and summoned it to surrender, which Hiddinghen, who succeeded to the command, refused, though he found it necessary to abandon the fort on the island, and retire, with his men and artillery, into the town. The Admiral, that he might meet with no interruptions during the siege, seized on several towns below Rhineberg, such as, Burrich, Alpen, and Mœurs, notwithstanding the Countess Palatine and the Countess of Mœurs were possessed of a protection from Albert, and assured, in the most express terms, that any towns belonging to them should be treated as neutral.

At

—takes
Burrich,
Alpen,
Mœurs.

At Wefel, likewise, he extorted a considerable sum of money from the inhabitants, and obliged them to furnish him with a quantity of corn. Book I.
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WHILE the Spaniards battered Rhineberg with their cannon, an assault was made upon one of the ramparts, in which they were repulsed with some loss. But an accident happened, which deprived the besieged of all hopes of making any farther resistance. In a tower towards the river, a hundred and fifty barrels of gun-powder had been lodged. It took fire, occasioned, it is thought, by a ball striking against the walls, or the iron with which they were bound together. Such a misfortune made terrible havock. Many of the adjoining houses were demolished; another small tower was blown down; and Hiddinghen, with some of his men, buried in its ruins. Part of a bulwark was levelled with the ground, and the town laid open on that side. Had not a half-moon covered the breach from the view of the Spaniards, the town might easily have been forced, during the consternation which this disaster occasioned. Nothing now remained for the besieged, but to capitulate on the best conditions they could procure. The Spaniards, not knowing particularly their situation, granted better terms than probably otherwise they would have allowed. The garrison were permitted to march out with their swords and baggage, on condition that they should not carry arms beyond the provinces of Holland and Zealand, for the four following months. Rhineberg,
15th Oct.

THE day after Rhineberg surrendered, the Spanish army crossed the river, intending to advance towards the banks of the Yffel. They wished to secure their winter quarters in that neighbourhood, not chusing to move to any great distance from the enemy, and expose themselves, by this means, and Rees,
Emmeric,
Yffelburg.

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and Doete-
com. 7th
November.

to the danger either of wanting provisions, or suffering by the low and marshy situation of Friseland. In this route, they obliged Rees, Emmeric, and Yffelburg to admit of garrisons. Maurice, afraid that Mendoza would likewise reduce the towns belonging to the Confederates on the Yffel, moved to Sevenaar, in which, though situated in the duchy of Cleves, he put some of his troops, and afterwards marched to Doesburg, a town in the jurisdiction of Zutphen, where he might be able to prevent the Spaniards from receiving any supplies by the Rhine, or making an irruption into the Velaw. He pitched his camp between the town and the Yffel, and fortified it in such a manner that he thought it would be almost impossible to force his intrenchments. Mendoza, mean while, sat down before Doetecom, which, for twenty years past, had been in the interest of the Confederates, but a weak place, and defended by only three hundred men. When every thing was ready for an assault, the garrison capitulated, and engaged not to carry arms beyond the bounds of the provinces of Holland and Zealand, for six months.

THE month of November being begun, Mendoza deliberated in what place he would station his army during the winter. Provisions were now scarce in his camp, and his men so sickly, that, in a short time, about seven thousand of them had died. But he found himself unable to dislodge Maurice, or to penetrate any farther into the country. In this situation, he received orders from Cardinal Andrew, to fix his quarters in Germany. Accordingly, he retired backwards towards the Rhine, and taking, as he passed, the castle of Schuylenburg, lodged at Rees*.

SUCH

* Carnero's *Historia des las Guerras*, Lib. 13. c. 5 & 6. Miniana, Lib. 10. c. 13. Petit, p. 724—729. Reidan, Lib. 15. Grotius, p. 349—353.

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SUCH was the issue of an expedition, which, from the number of troops employed, had raised high expectations. The success did not answer the hopes entertained. None of the towns that were taken, except Rhineberg, were of any importance; and not so much as an attempt was made upon the frontier towns, Nimeguen, Deventer, Zutphen, or Graveswaert. It was rendered famous, however, by circumstances which left very unfavourable impressions of the Spanish army; the rapacity of the soldiers, the horrid barbarities they committed, the perfidy of their general, and his retreat, resembling more the flight of the Vanquished than the triumph of the Conqueror. Maurice, with forces much inferior, by defending his country against such formidable enemies, gained honour equal to the glory of former victories. His humanity gave additional lustre to his character. When the Spaniards were gone, he went to Doetecom, to survey the position and form of their camp. Here he saw many soldiers lying wounded, without any covering, and starving for want. Affected with such a shocking spectacle, he sent a message to the officer who was left to command the garrison, begging that he would take pity on these miserable wretches, and carry them into the town. The officer, possessed of the same cruel disposition which seems to have actuated the whole Spanish army, returned for answer, that he needed the assistance of healthy troops, but would take no concern for those who were incapable of doing any service. Maurice refreshed them with victuals, and carried in waggons, to his own camp, all who could be transported.

In following Mendoza, Lewis of Nassau came up with a party of his horse at the Castle of Ulfta, killed ten or twelve of them, and took the rest prisoners. Maurice relieves Emmeric from the Spaniards.

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prisoners. The widow of Van Berg, and her daughter, saw this engagement from the windows of the castle, where likewise Henry de Berg was lying sick. But as Ulfta was a neutral place, Lewis did not take possession of it, seize Henry as his prisoner, nor even the Spanish officers who had fled there for safety. He only entered the castle, and paid a complimentary visit to his aunt, and her family. This humanity and moderation was, no doubt, of advantage to the cause of the Confederates. For, Maurice having heard that the citizens of Emmeric were tired of the Spanish garrison, dispatched Hohenlo with part of his troops to recover it, which he easily accomplished, and before Mendoza could send any reinforcement. That no offence might be given to the Emperor, he did not station a garrison there, in place of the Spaniards; and, for a like reason, withdrew the garrison from Sevenaar. He then put his troops into winter quarters, and he himself lodged at Arnheim, that he might watch the enemy's motions, and provide for the next campaign *.

Farther
proceedings
of the Ger-
man Prin-
ces.

ALL the complaints and remonstrances hitherto made by the German Princes had no effect in curbing the licentiousness of Mendoza's army. Before winter, the country was almost quite exhausted; and the soldiers, not satisfied with such provisions as could be procured, beat, and taxed the people in whose houses they were quartered; and often proceeded so far as to put them to death in every manner that barbarity could invent. By tortures, inducing them to discover their money and effects, the common soldiers got so much plunder, that they went to Cologne, and treated with the merchants for remitting the value of their booty to Antwerp, by bills of exchange. Neither
age

* Haræi Annales. Grotius. Reidan. Petit.

age nor sex afforded any protection; and multitudes were daily sacrificed to the most wanton cruelty. As provisions became more and more scarce, these rapacious invaders dispersed themselves into Marke and Berghen, where they committed the like outrages. Even the city of Cleves itself was laid under contribution. It may appear surprising that so many powerful princes as composed the German empire, should bear with such patience these repeated insults, and submit to receive, from those who professed themselves friends, injuries which even the right of conquest could not justify. But, in a government where power was divided among many, where there were separate interests, and suspicions and jealousies of one another prevailed, it was difficult either to unite them together in any common cause, to make them pursue joint measures, or to act with vigour. Hence none attempted to resent with spirit the conduct of the Spaniards; and even those who were in the neighbourhood of Westphalia and Cleves, and who suffered most, sought relief only by representation and complaint. The Archbishop of Cologne, though very nearly concerned, was satisfied with writing to the Landgrave of Hesse, begging his advice. The Duke of Lorraine, whose daughter was betrothed to the Duke of Cleves, and whose son was to be married to a sister of the King of France, went so far as to threaten, that his Christian Majesty would assist in revenging these insults. Nutzel, to whom the Emperor had given a commission to manage the affairs of Cleves, and to treat of the proposed marriage of the Duke, sent a remonstrance to Mendoza. The Duke of Brunswick published a placart, describing the cruelty of the Spaniards, and exhorting his subjects to take up arms against them: and six of the Princes Electors joined in sending a letter to the Emperor,

BOOK I. Emperor, giving him a full account of all that
 1598. had passed, and intreating that he would interpose
 his authority *.

REPEATED solicitations at last obliged the Emperor to write to the Arch Duke Albert, who was at that time at Milan, to Cardinal Andrew, and to Mendoza, requiring that the Spanish army should immediately leave the territories of the empire; that such places as they had taken should be restored; the money exacted from the inhabitants repaid; and the murderers of Count Valckenstein punished. He wrote likewise to the States of the United Provinces, demanding that they would give orders for their army to evacuate such places belonging to the empire as were in their possession. The Arch Duke and the Cardinal, in return, used only general terms; attributed all the mischiefs complained of to the Confederates; and enlarged on the necessity of using every method to reduce them to obedience. But Mendoza, with the utmost arrogance, answered, That, as it was his duty to promote his Majesty's interest to the utmost of his power, he would not be frightened with high sounding words, nor chaced away but by force; that the Princes themselves were to blame, because they would not put confidence in his Catholic Majesty's troops, nor employ their own against the Confederates, when they kept Bonn and Rhineberg. He even used frequently to boast, that he was sent by Providence into these parts, to root out heresy, the great source of all the disorders.

THE

* The substance of Nutzel's complaint, and of the Elector's letter to the Emperor, may be seen in Petit, who gives a very particular and shocking account of the cruelty of the Spaniards. —Chronique, Tom. 2. p. 730—735.

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The Emperor orders both the Spaniards and the Confederates to depart from the territories of the empire.
30th December.

THE Emperor, finding that his remonstrances were despised, and being continually pressed by the Princes, issued forth his Decree, requiring both the Spaniards and the Confederates instantly to depart, and threatening to lay them under the Bann of the Empire, if they refused. The Confederates, though they could not, consistently with any regard to their own safety, draw off their troops, while those of their enemies remained, yet, to show their respect to the Emperor, and their readiness to avoid giving any cause of offence, delivered up the town of Sevenaar to the Duke of Cleves. Mendoza, on the contrary, so much despised this order, that, at the very time he received it, he stormed Calcar and Goga, and forced some other towns to purchase an exemption from having a Spanish garrison, by furnishing a considerable sum of money. Wesel was obliged to re-establish the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, and to pay fifty thousand crowns. The Bishop of Paderborn was required to banish all Heretics from his dominions; and the Bishops of Osnaburgh and Bremen, and the Count of Oldenburg, to furnish both money and quarters for the troops. Those Princes were not so mean spirited as to submit to such demands; but threatened to levy an army, if the Spaniards should dare to commit any hostilities *.

WHEN the campaign was over, William of Nassau repaired to Friseland, where he arrived while the States of that Province were sitting. He embraced this opportunity of recommending to them, very warmly, more liberal contributions for the support of the army; and so strongly represented

* Petit, p. 730—749. Reidan, p. 434, 437, &c. Gro-tius. Carnero.

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presented the opinion both Maurice and he entertained of the danger to which the Confederates would be exposed, from the small number of their troops, if the enemy should make a proper use of this circumstance, that they agreed new levies should be made. The Council of State, whose office it was to lay before the States General, yearly, an Estimate of the expence of the campaign, requested, that the necessary provisions for this purpose should be settled during the winter, and not delayed, as often had been done, until the month of March or April, when the army ought to be ready to take the field. Their demands were likewise higher than formerly. They asked four hundred and fourteen thousand, six hundred and seventeen florins a-month, to be paid by Gueldres, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friseland, Overijssel, Groningen, and the Ommelands, and an extraordinary supply of three hundred thousand florins, for the expences of the camp in carriages and horses. This last article, the Council proposed, should be paid by Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friseland, and Groningen only, that the frontier provinces might be spared, because they were exposed to the ravages of the enemy. The States General, notwithstanding demanded from Gueldres sixty thousand florins; from Overijssel, fifty thousand; from Drenthe, seven thousand florins a-month; and from Linghen, three thousand, besides their proportion of the extraordinary supply. They imposed an additional tax upon wine, and another upon salt, as a fund for payment of the debt still due to Queen Elizabeth; the former duties on goods imported and exported were continued; and the Treasurer empowered to borrow four hundred thousand florins. As afterwards, a farther sum of six hundred thousand florins was required for the purpose of raising in Germany, France,

France, and Britain, six thousand foot and five hundred horse, and maintaining them during the summer, the Treasurer was likewise allowed, in case the other grants should not be sufficient, to borrow one hundred and fifty thousand florins more*.

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SOME new regulations were likewise made concerning the accoutrements of the soldiers. Those of the heavy cavalry were, for the future, to be provided with armour for the head, neck, shoulders, and breast; with an iron glove for the left hand which held the reins; a two edged sword, sharp at the point; and a musquet with a barrel two feet long. In every regiment there were to be some covered with armour to the knees, and furnished with a led horse. The light horsemen were to have armour for the head, neck, and breast; and, instead of the lances formerly used, a sword, and a musquet three feet long. No horses were to be employed which were under ten † hands in height. The orders for the foot soldiers were, that lanciers, or spearmen, should have a helmet and breast-plate, a sword and a spear headed with iron, and from eight to ten feet long; and the fourth part of them to have their arms and thighs covered with armour. The musqueteers were appointed to use a helmet, a sword, and a musquet; the musquets to be partly of a larger, and partly of a smaller size; the former admitting bullets of ten, the latter, of twenty-four, in a pound weight ‡.

New regulations in the States army.

NOTHING

* Reidani Annales, lib. 15. p. 435.

† Ens, 15 hands, at least, Pise.

‡ Ens, Belli Civilis in Belgio Historia.—Tableau de l'Histoire des Princes et Principauté d'Orange, par Joseph de la Pise; a la Haye, anno 1638. folio; p. 666. et 667.

BOOK I. { NOTHING could be more impolitical than laying additional restraints upon Commerce. Such as had already been imposed by Philip, served to encrease the resources of the Confederates. They were very well satisfied with being able, at present, to stand on the defensive, and to stop the Spanish army from invading their territories. But, sensible of the advantages which they had derived from extending their Foreign trade, their chief attention was directed to this object. They had, indeed, been disappointed in their hopes of penetrating into the Indies by the North; and as three expeditions, for this purpose, had failed of success, they laid aside all farther attempts of discovering this much wished for passage. But such was the spirit of enterprize, raised by the expectation of destroying the enemy's trade in the Indies, or, at least, of acquiring some share of so plentiful a source of wealth, that this year several voyages to these countries were undertaken.

1598.
The Confederates attempt to extend their trade.

A design against Prince's Island fails.

A DESIGN formed by Balthazar Mucheron, a merchant of Middleburg, the same person who was at the head of the society which made the first trial of sailing to the Indies by the North, sufficiently showed what opinion was entertained of the weakness of the enemy. The Portugeze were in possession of Prince's Island, situated on the coast of Guinea, betwixt two and three degrees North of the Equator; which, though not very fertile, was a convenient station for such vessels as passed that way. Mucheron concerted a plan for seizing that island, and applied to Maurice and the States for leave to put it into execution. This they not only granted, but allowed him, if successful, to enjoy the island as his own property. He immediately equipped five vessels, aboard which were put two hundred sailors, and a hundred

dred and fifty soldiers, who chearfully engaged, upon being promised great booty, and being paid each six hundred florins a-year. Julian Cleerhagen, a man of a turbulent disposition, and who bore a considerable part in the faction excited against the States, during the Earl of Leicester's administration *, obtained the chief command; and the other officers were young men, of no fortune, nor experience, except Corneille de Mucheron, nephew of the Contriver of the expedition, and who was well known to the inhabitants of the island, by his having been frequently there in the course of his trade. Tho' this little fleet set sail about the end of March, yet, meeting with contrary winds and storms, it did not reach the place of destination until the Month of August. Corneille immediately gave notice to the inhabitants of his arrival; and, pretending that Mucheron himself, for whom he had hitherto acted, was aboard, invited them to repair to his ship. On this intimation, the Governor and principal officers, to the number of fifteen persons, came with an intention to pay their compliments to Mucheron, and were kindly entertained. After they had feasted together, Cleerhagen ventured to explain his design, produced a commission from Maurice with letters from Mucheron, and endeavoured to persuade them that they would live more happily under the government of the United Provinces than that of Spain. Finding that they had been ensnared, they feigned to agree to his proposals; took an oath of fidelity to him; and, going ashore, even proclaimed Mucheron Governor of the Island. Three days after, the natives and Portugeze, who had submitted to acknowledge him merely from necessity, raised an insurrection, and made a furious attack.

* Anno 1586. &c.

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attack upon Cleerhagen and his troops. They were repulsed; and the General, willing, if possible, to reconcile them to their new masters, published a pardon for what was passed; used every means to cultivate an intimacy with them; and attached himself so closely to the Priest of the Island, that he frequently joined with him in the celebration of mass. A new agreement was made, and peace restored. Cleerhagen, elated with this success, began to behave with great insolence; and another conspiracy was formed by means of the Portugueze caballing with the natives. Fortunately, the plot was discovered, and the Priest, supposed to be the principal leader of it, was apprehended. One Le Fort, another nephew of Mucheron, and Stephen Quaresina, were appointed his judges, and went to visit his house, in order to examine if any proof of his guilt could be found. The Priest's slaves killed them both; but it was suspected, that Cleerhagen was privy to the murder, because, at the time that it happened, he had caused the guards to be removed. In revenge, the Governor of the Island, and one of his accomplices, were hanged. The Portuguese dispatched an express to the Island of St. Thomas, demanding assistance against the invaders, and received a supply of five hundred men. Cleerhagen dying soon after, and likewise his successor in command, the troops lost courage, and abandoned the island. Mucheron had sent some more soldiers and provisions, but they came too late *.

Three fleets
sail for the
East Indies.

THE success that had attended the first voyage to the East Indies, by the same route which the Spaniards pursued †, gave encouragement to the most

* Petit, p. 699. Grotius, 310. Reidan, p. 423.

† Annis 1595—1597.

most sanguine hopes, and excited the most strenuous efforts to extend a very beneficial Commerce. Three several enterprizes of this kind were formed this year, and three fleets equipped. One, consisting of eight vessels, under the command of Van Neck, proposed to sail by the Cape of Good Hope; another, of five ships, under the command of James Mahu, by the Straits of Magellan; and the third, of four, two of them yachts, under the command of Oliver Noort, to take the same course, with a view to commence a trade with the inhabitants on the coast of America, and the South Seas, and to go round the world. All of them were properly provided for their respective voyages. Van Neck's fleet had five hundred and sixty sailors aboard, and seven Commissaries or Purfers; among whom was the famous James Heemskerck, who had made several voyages to the North Seas. Mahu's fleet made in all fourteen hundred and ninety tons; had on board five hundred and forty-seven men; and carried, besides warlike stores, merchandize of various kinds. Noort, whose chief business was trade, had a great quantity of goods, and two hundred and forty-eight men ‡.

THE

‡ Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi a l'Etablissement de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, &c. tom. 2. p. 153, 256. tom. 3. p. 1. Pontani Hist. Amstelodami. In the course of this year three persons died, who had distinguished themselves in the cause of the Confederates; Florence, Count Culemborg, Elbert Leonnine, Chancellor of Gueldres, and Philip Marnix, Lord of St. Aldegonde. Culemborg was the Chief of the Confederacy which remonstrated against the introducing the Inquisition, *anno* 1566. But he was unfit for business, and fond of ease. By not engaging in the active scenes which followed, he lived unnoticed, and died unregretted even by that party which he contributed to raise. Leonnine was a native of Bommel. When even Professor of Law at Louvain, he was esteemed by all parties, and in favour both with

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1599.

Proceedings
of the Ger-
man Prin-
ces.

THE Meeting of the Deputies of the German Princes, held in the beginning of winter, was scarce dissolved, when the continual ravages made by Mendoza's soldiers obliged the Princes Electors of the Rhine, and of the lower circle of Westphalia, again to send Commissioners to Cologne, in order to concert some common measures of defence against these insults. When they assembled, they wrote letters to the Princes, and States of Franconia, and Lower Saxony, by which they endeavoured to rouse their resentment; and desired that they would have recourse to arms, drive the Spaniards out of the territories of the Empire, and appoint Deputies to a meeting to be held at Confluenza, in the month of March. Mendoza, so far from being alarmed at these proceedings, used to declare to his confidants, that he would wish for nothing more than to see the Princes attempt to put their threatenings into execution, as he would then have a plausible reason for pushing his conquests. A Messenger, whom he had sent to the Dukes of Saxony, Brunswick, and Lunenburg, the Count of Hesse, and the Bishops of Paderborn and Osnaburg, was intercepted and taken prisoner by a party of the Confederates horse. His letters and instructions contained a vindication

with Cardinal Granvelle, and the Prince of Orange. He was afterwards made one of the Privy Council; but discovering that he was suspected by the Spaniards, he openly joined the Confederates, and used to justify himself by a maxim ascribed to Solon, That, in times of civil discord, a good citizen should attach himself to the weakest party. Philip, Lord of St. Aldegonde, was distinguished by his birth, his steady opposition to Spain, and his constant friendship to the Prince of Orange. He spent his latter days in retirement and study; and acquired fame by his learning. Death prevented him from finishing the translation of the Bible, begun by desire of the States. He translated the Psalms, and wrote several little pieces, mostly on theological subjects.—Meursius. Brandt. Grotius.

vindication of Mendoza's conduct; represented it as not only necessary, but just; and were full of exhortations to the German Princes to submit patiently to any inconveniencies that they might suffer at present, recollecting the many services done to the Empire by the King of Spain. The Messenger was particularly directed to examine, with the utmost care, if the Princes were really disposed to enter heartily into one common league; if they were determined to act offensively; and, if any of them could be gained over to Philip's interest.

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WHILE the intentions of Mendoza were thus discovered to the Confederates, warm expostulations were made at the diet of the deputies from the Princes of both sides the Rhine, concerning the behaviour of the Spanish troops. The German Empire, it was said, had always been revered, and it was never known, until now, that the Spanish forces, contrary to justice, contrary to that neutrality which the Princes professed, and which they had never openly violated, had invaded their territories, and taken possession of several of their towns. Application had been made to the Emperor, but without effect; a circumstance which proved of what advantage it was to the ambitious views of the House of Austria, to render the succession to the Imperial Crown in a manner hereditary. It was impossible to bear long so many unprovoked injuries. Arms must be employed; and if so small a part of Lower Germany had shaken off the Spanish yoke, it was dishonourable tamely to submit. Both the Cardinal and Mendoza began to be alarmed, and to suspect that an association might be formed, and too powerful to be resisted. They, therefore, dispatched commissioners to justify what had passed; to prevent such an union
D among

BOOK I. among the Princes; and, if possible, to avert the
1599. storm which seemed to be gathering. They insisted much, that many groundless reports had been circulated; that the whole world acknowledged the justice of the war in the Netherlands; and that it became the Emperor and the Princes, to assist in supporting the interests of true religion, and in punishing these rebels, who had obstinately rejected all terms of peace, and who still kept possession of Schenck's Fort, which, by being situated on the point where the Rhine divides into two branches, had the command, both of that river, and of the Wahal. They urged, that the situation of affairs rendered it absolutely necessary, that the Spanish troops should be put into the nearest winter quarters; that it was impossible to stop altogether the licentiousness of such a number of soldiers; that the General had ordered the guilty to be punished, and endeavoured to give a check to those evils which are, in some measure, unavoidable in time of war; but that when money was scarce, it was difficult to preserve a strict military discipline. Mendoza, they said, would soon march to other places, and remove all ground of complaint; but, that the Princes should bear a little longer with the present inconveniencies; and not, on this account, sacrifice the good of the church, and the common interest of Christians. They even ventured to pronounce the Emperor and Princes blameable, because they had neglected their duty, and left the whole burden upon his Catholic Majesty; reminded them, that all their treaties made with the House of Burgundy, at the time when Charles V. resigned the Empire to his brother, and the Netherlands to his son, stipulated mutual assistance for maintaining the Catholic religion; but that, notwithstanding, aid had been given to the Prince of Orange and the rebels; and

and that the Duke of Cleves, particularly, had received into his dominions such as had been banished, allowed heretical schools in Wesel, and furnished Heretics with troops. From all this they concluded, that the King of Spain could not, with any propriety, be accused of breach of treaty, or of injustice; and that the Duke of Cleves could not complain of the quartering of the army in his territories.

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THE Confederates, on the other hand, did not think it necessary to send any Commissioners to represent what they had often already repeated; and did not chuse to be upbraided, as they probably would, with rejecting all offers of peace. They imagined that the injuries which the Princes suffered, would have more effect in rousing their resentment, than any remonstrances that could be made; and had no reason to be displeased, if a warm contest should ensue between them and his Catholic Majesty. Instead, therefore, of making a formal justification of their conduct, William of Nassau, whose government lay on the frontiers, and who, it was thought, might have some influence, was directed to employ it in inflaming their passions, and to give them assurance that the Confederates would be always ready to espouse the cause of their allies. Though the General Estates remained silent, the calumnies of the Spaniards did not pass altogether unnoticed. A memorial was published, but without the author's name, in which they were refuted, with great spirit. It was in the form of an address from the States to the German Princes. "Though," say they, "the
" causes of the present war in the Netherlands
" should not be universally known, yet to you,
" who live in the neighbourhood, little argument
" will be necessary to show, with what injustice

The Confederates endeavour to rouse their resentment.

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“ the Spaniards lay the blame upon us. How
 “ shameless is it to pretend, that it was begun by
 “ his Catholic Majesty for the support of religion?
 “ Was not *he* the invader of our liberties; and
 “ were we not forced, in self-defence, to resist
 “ his attacks? *He* was the Wolf, *we* the innocent
 “ Sheep. We humbly remonstrated, but could
 “ not prevail with him, either to lay down his
 “ arms, or to refrain from oppression and cruelty.
 “ No subjects were at all times more loyal to the
 “ Prince. We considered his authority as next
 “ to that of the Supreme Being; and only asked,
 “ that the conscience, over which God alone has
 “ power, should be left free. We submitted
 “ even in religious matters, whilst a hundred and
 “ fifty thousand persons, our relations, our hus-
 “ bands, our wives, and children, were behead-
 “ ed, burnt, hanged, or by various tortures put
 “ to death in our very sight, and by the hands of
 “ the common executioner. Recourse was not
 “ had to arms, until we saw our patience, exer-
 “ cised to a degree unknown in any former age
 “ or nation, insulted, and our entreaties, com-
 “ plaints, and groans despised. Is it not ridicu-
 “ lous for his Catholic Majesty to boast of his
 “ services to the Emperor and Empire, when, at
 “ the same time, he invades their territories, and
 “ commits every act of violence? But, it seems,
 “ neighbouring nations must court the King of
 “ Spain, in the same manner as the people of
 “ the East worship the devil, from Fear. The
 “ States have been very careful to pay their troops
 “ regularly; to lay the expences of the war upon
 “ their own subjects; and to raise men in their
 “ own territories, that they might not give
 “ any offence to the Princes of the Empire. The
 “ Spaniards, on the contrary, have often pur-
 “ posely maintained their mutinous troops entirely
 “ at

“ at the expence of their neighbours, and levied
 “ numbers of men in the territories of the Empire. Book I.
 “ If the States troops have ever done any thing 1599.
 “ improper, it has happened solely in consequence
 “ of their being obliged to follow their enemies,
 “ and to provide for their own safety ; or from
 “ the licentiousness of the common soldiers, with-
 “ out the consent of the States, who severely
 “ punished every disorder with which they were
 “ made acquainted. The injuries done by the
 “ Spaniards could be ascribed to nothing else but
 “ an immoderate ambition, or a wanton cruelty.
 “ Vindicate then your honour and your liberty.
 “ Never can there be a more just cause of war.
 “ Show to an arrogant tyrant, who pretends to
 “ hold you in contempt, that the courage of Ger-
 “ mans is not extinguished. Powerful enough of
 “ yourselves, you need no aid ; but, if our assist-
 “ ance is asked, we will show that we are faithful
 “ to our friends, and not unworthy of being the
 “ descendants of the antient Germans *.”

THE scheme of employing arms against the in- The Princes
 vaders of the Empire went on very slowly. The agree to
 Princes who were most concerned thought, that if, raise an
 by threatenings, they could recover their towns army.
 from the Spaniards, it would be easy to chase them
 out of their dominions altogether. They would
 have been perfectly satisfied with regaining the
 full possession of their territories, without involving
 the Empire in the quarrel ; and were afraid that,
 by shewing any favour to the Confederates, they
 would not only expose themselves to the vengeance
 of Philip, but provoke the Catholic Princes. Even
 some of the Confederates themselves discovered no
 great anxiety to engage them to commence hostili-
 ties.

* Reidani Annales, Lib. 16. p 446—449. Carnero. Ben-
 tivoglio. Grotius.

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ties. They reflected on the disadvantage of depending upon foreign assistance; foresaw that contentions would arise, if the armies were to act in conjunction; and suspected, that the Germans would, in a short time, grow weary of the war, make peace with Philip, and oblige the Confederates to accede to any terms that they should think proper. In the Diet, the different sentiments which were entertained, and the particular views and interests of the several parties, prevented any vigorous or decisive measures being taken. The Catholics were jealous both of the Spaniards and of the Princes of the Augustan Confession. They regarded the former as enemies to the liberty of Germany, and the latter as enemies to the true religion. Their zeal for religion, however, so far prevailed, that though they could not openly oppose such as argued for the dignity and freedom of the Empire, they endeavoured to counteract their designs; and, when they found themselves unable to defeat them altogether, to procure delays. They averred, that the mischiefs done by the Spaniards were not so great as had been reported; insinuated, that, if force was used, the grievances complained of would be encreased; that the Spaniards would soon, of their own accord, leave the German territories; and that if they should remain, it was not the business of such Princes as were at a distance from the Spanish army, to interfere, but of those of Westphalia alone. The Emperor himself, and the Bishops, adopted the same reasoning; and even the Princes of the Augustan Confession were not of one opinion.

THE Elector Palatine, the Duke of Brunswick, and the Count of Hesse, urged the necessity of taking arms; proposed to raise twelve thousand foot, and four hundred horse; to apply for their support

support the money intended for carrying on the war against the Turks; and to demand from the Catholic Princes not money, but troops. They could not agree on whom the chief command of the army should be conferred. The Duke of Brunswick, and the Count of Hesse, aspired to this honour; but the Catholics in Westphalia took advantage of this contention, and by offering three months contributions, in the same proportion as was paid for the Turkish war, prevailed in getting Count de la Lippe, Lieutenant-general of all the forces in that Circle, appointed to the command; each of the other two competitors chusing rather that the Count should be preferred than his rival. The promise of money too was, no doubt, a powerful motive.

MENDOZA disregarded these proceedings of the German Princes; and, during the very time of their deliberations, forced Emmeric to surrender *. Mendoza retakes Emmeric. February. He was unable, however, to make any attempts all winter against the Confederates, who, though much inferior in number, were so stationed, that they could easily observe his motions, and, if necessary, assemble all their troops, at one place, on a short notice. Maurice, at Arnheim, guarded the Velawe, Utrecht, and Holland; while William, at Meppel, in Drenthe, protected Friseland, and the Ommelands. The few skirmishes that happened were generally in favour of the Confederates. Some skirmishes. Eleven of their troops of horse made an incursion into Limburg, and Luxemburg, from whence they carried off considerable booty. Returning by the frontiers of Brabant, they met and dispersed a body of Spaniards, commanded by Grobendonck, Governor of Bois-le-Duc, and Mexia, Governor of the

* Petit, p. 744, &c. Reidan, Lib. 16. p. 440, &c. Gro-
tius, p. 359—363.

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the castle of Antwerp, who had marched to that quarter in hopes of getting possession of Breda, by means of a private correspondence with some of the garrison. Notwithstanding their being defeated in this rencounter, they persisted in their design, and a day was fixed for the town's being delivered into their hands. But the persons whom they trusted in carrying on this treachery gave information to Maurice; and when part of the Spaniards were admitted into the town, they were attacked with great fury, and numbers of them were killed. A plot of the same kind upon Nimmeguen failed in the same manner*. Bucquoy, who commanded the garrison in Emmeric, fell into an ambuscade, laid for him by Lewis of Nassau. Two hundred of his men were killed, and he himself was taken prisoner. Frederic de Berg, on the banks of the Rhine, was put to flight; and Count Paulus Æmilius Martinengo was routed between Nimmeguen and Grave, himself taken prisoner, and three hundred horse that were with him killed or dispersed. At sea, a ship belonging to his Catholic Majesty, laden with warlike stores, coming from Hamburg to Spain, was intercepted †.

State of
both armies.

THE General Estates of the United Provinces, in regulating the affairs of their army, encreased the pay of their troops; allowed such Captains as were formerly obliged to have two hundred men in their company, to take off twenty from that number,

* Ens. He says, that the plot against Breda was conducted by an Earl Bothwell, who had been banished Scotland, and lived at that time in Brussels.

† Grotius, p. 362. Reidan. Mary de Berg, sister of William Prince of Orange, died this winter. She bitterly lamented her having embraced the Catholic religion, and recommended to her daughters a steady adherence to the Protestant Faith. Reidan.

ber, and such as had a hundred and fifty to take off fifteen; and enacted a severe penalty against any who should be guilty of fraud, by not having their companies complete. In the Spanish army, the want of pay caused several mutinies. The mutiny in Lire continued until the end of February, and was scarcely composed, when the garrison in Rhineberg refused to obey orders, and were so obstinate, that they continued in sedition all this year. For want of money, the raising of forty new companies in Italy, as was once proposed, could not be accomplished; and a greater part of a regiment, levied in Germany, deserted to the Confederates.

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In the beginning of April, Cardinal Andrew mustered his army; which amounted in all to fifteen thousand men*, and which, having quitted such places as he could not hope to retain, assembled on the banks of the Rhine, after leaving garrisons in Rees, Emmeric, Rhineberg, and Gennep. When deliberating upon the operations of the following campaign, it was the unanimous opinion of the officers, that they should pass the river Wahal, and penetrate, as far as possible, into the enemy's country; but they were divided as to the place which should be first attacked. Some proposed Nimmeguen; and others, that passing the Maese lower down, they should march directly into the Island of Bommel. The opinion of Mendoza, in favour of Graveswaert, or Schenck's Fort, prevailed. It was reckoned very hazardous to attempt a place where the Duke of Parma had failed, and at a time when it was not so strongly fortified as at present; but, on the other hand, it was

Unsuccessful attempt of Mendoza upon Schenck's Fort, April.

* So Grotius and Reidan. But Bentivoglio says, it consisted of 18,000 foot and 2,300 horse. Baudart encreases the number to 26,000 foot, and 4000 horse.

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was thought, that the possession of it would be of the utmost consequence, as it would give them the command of the river, and facilitate their design upon Bommel. The Rhine divides into two branches, one of which preserves the same name for a long way; the other branch is called the Wahal, and joining at last with the Maese, forms the Island Betawe. These two last rivers again divide, and form the Island of Bommel. Graveswaert stands upon the point of the Betawe; and somewhat lower, on the banks of the Wahal, is Nimmeguen. Maurice was very uneasy when he heard that the Spaniards were encamped on both sides of the river, and had laid siege to Graveswaert, because he could not procure forces enough to attack them in their quarters. William was still detained in Friseland, on account of some disturbances which had happened there; Vere was in England; Solms was gone to the Court of Hesse; Hohenlo was preparing for a journey to the Duke of Brunswick; and the promised supplies from Germany, and France, were not arrived. As, by their absence, he could not undertake to assault or dislodge the Spaniards, he proposed to employ the four thousand men he had with him in guarding the banks of the Rhine, and the passage over the Yssel. He therefore encamped at Gueldreswaert, but stationed part of his troops in Bommel, with a view, that whatever place Mendoza should attempt, he might be ready to defend it from the other side. Such was his activity, and the prudent measures he pursued, that he defeated the intention of the Spaniards with respect to Graveswaert. By throwing in reinforcements to the garrison; driving large stakes into the river, to prevent the armed boats that were expected from Cologne getting down; the execution he did in the enemies camp, by firing his cannon across the Rhine; and by the horse from

from Nimmeguen harassing the out-posts, he convinced Mendoza, that all his endeavours to gain the fort would be ineffectual.

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MENDOZA, notwithstanding this part of his plan had failed, was determined to prosecute his design of pushing his way into Bommel. With this design, he sent off, for two days, detachments from the main army; and, on the third day, marched with the remainder, except two thousand, whom he left behind to amuse Maurice, and to conceal his retreat from Graveswaert. When he arrived at the village of Empel, he crossed the Maese, without meeting with any opposition; entered the Island of Bommel; and took the castle, and the fort Crevecœur, situated on the banks of the Maese. The chief town on the Island of Bommel, called by the same name, was not in a situation to make much resistance. Some new fortifications had been begun two years before, but were not finished. The walls were weak, and the garrison few in number. Mendoza, probably from ignorance of these circumstances, continued inactive for some days, which afforded Maurice, who followed him upon the first intelligence of his retreat from Graveswaert, an opportunity of introducing into the town a supply of four thousand foot, and four hundred horse. So seasonable an assistance gave great joy to the inhabitants, who were preparing to remove.

Siege of
Bommel.
May.

THIS fortunate event was followed by another. La Noue, son of the famous French officer of that name, arrived with two thousand troops, raised in France, notwithstanding all the remonstrances Philip made to Henry on this subject; and Vere likewise, with some British soldiers. Deputies came, soon after, from the General Estates, to represent

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represent to Maurice the immense expence already incurred, and to press him to take the first opportunity of fighting the enemy, now that he was equal in number of forces *. Both Maurice and William were much surpris'd with such a change in the sentiments of the Estates, since the sieges of Coeverden and Groll †, and urged many reasons to show, that, to venture a battle, at present, would be to the last degree dangerous. They observed, that Mendoza's situation rendered it very difficult to attack him, and consequently, that the success was very precarious; that Bommel, which it was their interest by all means to preserve, was in the utmost hazard; that, though the enemy should be defeated, they could procure a ready supply of foreign troops; whereas, the loss of a battle would prove the greatest misfortune to the Confederates, because, in this case, the richest merchants would leave the country, and deprive it of trade, the principal resource of carrying on the war. They insisted, that more might be gained by a delay for a short time, which would oblige the Spaniards to disperse.

It was a great disadvantage to the Commander of the forces of the United Provinces, that, in many cases, he was under a necessity of paying more regard to advice, given him by men entirely unacquainted with military affairs, than it deserved; and it was often of real hurt to the public service, when the General Estates interfered, and pretended to dictate what was to be done, though they must have been ignorant of many circumstances proper to

* Carnero says, that his army was greater than any which the Confederates had brought into the field for many years, and consisted of 16,000 foot and horse, besides the auxiliaries from England and France. *Historia de las Guerras*, l. 13. c. 8.

† Annis 1592 & 1597.

to be known, and carefully considered, before any judgment could be formed. With *them* the expence was always a consideration which had great weight, but which might, on many occasions, if the sole object of attention, defeat the best concerted and the most promising enterprises.

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WHAT impression the arguments used by Maurice made upon the Deputies in this instance, or what would have been the effect of their opposing his opinion, was still uncertain, when the motions of Mendoza relieved him from the anxiety caused by their remonstrances. When, next day, the Spanish army approached nearer, and planted their cannon against Bommel, the Deputies, unaccustomed to view scenes of war, and frightened at these preparations, were not only less keen in demanding a battle, but thought it prudent to consult their own safety, by retiring to some distance, and taking shelter in a neighbouring town. Maurice, on the other hand, by quartering some of his troops on the opposite side of the river, and the besieged, by making frequent sallies, so harassed the assailants, that they made very little progress. Mendoza himself, after losing two thousand of his men, began to despair of success. He yielded at last to the complaints of his army; broke up his camp in the night time; and retreated to Rossem*.

The siege is raised.

MAURICE,

* An Incident, somewhat remarkable, happened at this siege. Two brothers, who had never seen, but had often been in quest of one another, met here by accident. The eldest, who was called Hernando Diaz, having heard the other addressed by the name of Encisso, the surname of their mother which he had taken, a custom usual in Spain, interrogated him concerning several domestic affairs, which produced a discovery. As they were tenderly embracing each other, a cannon ball carried off both their heads, without separating the bodies, which fell down together to the ground. Houssaie, Memoires, article, Diaz, Encisso.

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MAURICE, now at liberty to act as he pleased, marched with three thousand foot, and all his horse, into Brabant, in hopes of surprizing a Convoy, which, he was informed, was on the road, with fifty thousand ducats for the use of the Spanish army. But he was disappointed of seizing this valuable booty, by the country people giving intelligence of his design. He returned again to Bommel, where he placed a sufficient garrison; and afterwards distributed the greater part of his army along the Dykes in Tiellerwaert, and the lower Betawe; he himself taking his station in the island of Voorn, which was opposite to that corner of Bommel where the Maese and the Wahal separated from each other. He next formed the bold attempt of fixing a camp there, by making entrenchments at the village of Herward, situated on the point of the island of Bommel. He had scarce begun the work, when Mendoza, sensible how much it was his interest to prevent the Confederates from getting a lodgment, dispatched Sapena with five thousand men, to force them to desist. But though the fortifications were not advanced above four feet in height, he met with so warm a reception, that he was repulsed in two attacks, in which, and in his retreat, he lost many of his men *.

Fort St.
Andrew
built.

THE Cardinal had now no expectations of gaining Bommel; but, that he might not seem to have spent so much time to no purpose, he erected a fort on the narrow point of land between the Maese and the Wahal. By this means he hoped to cut off all communication by the two rivers, and to have it in his power, when a proper opportunity offered, to make an irruption into the Betawe.

* Carnero, lib. 13. c. 3. Miniana, lib. 10. cap. 17. Reidan. Grotius.

tawe. He called the fort, St. Andrew, after his own name. It had five large bastions, two towards each of the rivers, and one towards the land; on which side, likewise, it was furrounded by a deep ditch. When it was finished, a strong garrison was stationed there, for its defence; and the rest of the troops were distributed in the nearest villages of Brabant, where, for want of pay, and in their usual manner, they committed many outrages*. Maurice proposed to attack the enemy when thus dispersed; and for this purpose, threw a bridge over the Maese, from the fort Worden, and transported five thousand men, divided into two bodies, one commanded by Vere, and the other, by Lewis of Nassau. They found the Spaniards better prepared than they expected; and, though they made their assault with great vigour, they were obliged to retreat with some loss.

BARLOTTA was equally unsuccessful at Wor- July 10.
cum. As that place was defended solely by the citizens, and because the army was near, he hoped to take it by surprise. He concealed some soldiers about the town, and sent others in the habit of travellers, who, getting access early in the morning, seized the gate. The citizens alarmed, ran to their arms, and expelled the Spaniards †.

IT was the middle of summer before the army of the German Princes could be assembled. The Emperor, the Bishops, and all the Catholics, were averse to employing arms; the Elector Palatine, and the Electors of Mentz and Triers, absolutely refused; and even the Dukes of Brandenburg, and Brunswick, and the Count of Hesse, though the most

Operations
of the Ger-
man army.

* Laet, *Respublica Belgica*. Petit. Bentivoglio. Carnero.

† Grotius, p. 369. Reidan, Lib. 16. Bentivoglio. Miniana.

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most zealous for this measure, kept back their troops for a long time. Count de la Lippe, on whom the chief Command was conferred, had no experience; and so diffident was he of his own abilities, that he willingly submitted to the direction of Hohenlo and Solms, who, to please the Germans, pretended to take no concern in the disputes between the Spaniards and Confederates, and procured their discharge from the Estates of the United Provinces. Though the territories of Frankfort, Lower Saxony, and Westphalia, agreed to furnish twenty-two thousand horse and foot, yet it is generally thought, that the whole number actually provided, did not exceed twelve thousand foot, and four thousand horse, and those, soldiers unacquainted with strict military discipline, lazy, addicted to drinking, and, if not punctually paid, ready to mutiny. The first place that they attacked was a fort near Rhineberg, which they stormed. They next reinforced the garrisons of Orsoy and Emmeric. But when it was supposed that they would lay siege to Rhineberg, they wanted almost every thing necessary. They had but six large cannon, eight field pieces, and not above six hundred charges of powder and ball. Even provisions were scarce; the neighbourhood, in consequence of promises from Mendoza, refusing to supply them, as was expected. So much was this army despised, that Mendoza, though well knowing where the attack would be made, did not think there was any necessity to put more men into Rhineberg, nor used any endeavours to pacify the mutiny in the garrison. Observing the slowness of their motions, he made no doubt of being able to preserve both Rhineberg and Rees.

Lays siege to
Rees.

MEANWHILE, Cardinal Andrew, by embassies and conferences, attempted to procure delays;
and

and was so successful in weakening the power of the Confederacy, that the city of Cologne, which had promised to furnish four hundred troops, not only declined fulfilling this engagement, but allowed the Spaniards to raise men within its territories, and even to carry away powder. The German Generals, indeed, returned a spirited answer to Herman de Berg, sent by the Cardinal to desire that they would not proceed to hostilities; and required that Rhineberg, Rees, and Gennep, should instantly be restored, in imitation of the example of the United States, who had already delivered up such places as they had taken. Their *Conduct*, at the same time, was the reverse, feeble, and irresolute. They encamped before Rees, and were supplied with the materials for carrying on the siege by an artifice. The States of the United Provinces provided them with powder and ball; but, that offence might not be given to the Princes who affected to take no part in the quarrel between the Spaniards and Confederates, it was pretended, that these articles were purchased at their own expence. No discipline was observed in their camp. Hohenlo, though a general of great experience, was impatient of fatigue, much given to drinking, and more rash than prudent. Solms generally differed from him in opinion, and had not sufficient authority to restrain the licentiousness of the troops, encouraged by the Governors of Cleves, Juliers, and the adjoining territories, who wished that their operations might be defeated. So little was there even of the appearance of a siege, that the garrison of Rees often gave invitations to the Germans to feasts and entertainments, which were frequently accepted. Count de la Lippe agreed to a conference proposed by Mendoza, and, at his desire, granted a truce for fourteen days. Mendoza, probably with a view to

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soften

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soften the resentment of the Germans, voluntarily quitted Gennep, but, at the same time, put fifteen hundred men into Rees.

Doetecom
taken by
William.
August.

MAURICE easily perceived what would be the issue. Despairing of any thing effectual being done by this army, he ordered William to leave the island of Voorn, and, with seven troops of horse, twenty-five companies of foot, and as many companies draughted from the garrisons of Gueldreswaert, Doesburgh, Groll, and Brefurt, to attack Doetecom, a town in Zutphen, two leagues from Doesburgh. Though the weather was very unfavourable, on account of a great fall of rain, William, on the third day after his arrival at the place, got three cannon planted against the walls. After firing them four times, he summoned the garrison to surrender; to which they instantly agreed, on condition they might be allowed to go out with their arms and baggage, but under promise of not performing any service, in any place to the east of the Maese, for the space of three months.

The Ger-
mans dis-
perse.
October.

THE dispatch with which Doetecom, a place as strong as Rees, was taken, seemed to upbraid the slowness of the operations of the German army. But, when the truce was expired, it proceeded as heavily as ever. This was, no doubt, in a great measure, owing to differences of opinion among the generals. Some of them even proposed to send for Maurice and William, and to confer on the former the chief Command. They declared, that, the assistance of the Confederates should not be rejected, now, when the Spaniards had despised all their threatenings, seen their weakness, and would not, unless forced, yield up their towns. In the midst of these disputes, Mendoza found an opportunity of conveying five hundred more

more men into Rees, though Maurice had warned Hohenlo of his intention, and given him notice, that this supply was actually on the road. The garrison, thus strengthened, made a sally; killed two hundred of the Germans; and spread such confusion in the camp, that they set fire to their magazines, and raised the siege. The whole army was, in the month of October, dispersed, and Mendoza recovered Gennep; but, as he thought it unnecessary to keep possession, because the river could be easily passed in several places, he restored it to the Duke of Cleves, and distributed his troops through the villages of Brabant, territory of Cuick, and banks of the Maese*.

SUCH was the dishonourable issue of an expedition undertaken by some with reluctance, prosecuted without vigour, and thwarted by the want of union among the leaders. In this manner the campaign likewise ended, both parties having other reasons, besides the advanced season of the year, for putting their troops into winter quarters. Mendoza complained of being obliged to keep the field, until Fort St. Andrew was finished, though his troops were perishing with want and sickness, and were reduced to ten thousand foot, and fourteen hundred horse. The Confederates wished to lessen an expence which they would not be able long to support, and which had exceeded, this campaign, the calculated rate, by twelve hundred thousand florins. When an additional contribution of eight hundred thousand florins was demanded, some Provinces absolutely refused to comply; and others, which had promised, paid their money very slowly. In this situation of affairs,

State of the
United Pro-
vinces.

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fairs,

* Carnero, l. 13. c. 17. & 12. l. 14. c. 2. Haræus. Bentivoglio. Grotius. Reidan. Miniana.

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fairs, a mutiny in the camp was dreaded; and probably could not have been prevented, had not the King of France, very seasonably, sent a supply of three hundred thousand florins. For these reasons, the Deputies of the States, and the Council of State, moved from the Hague to Gorcum, in the neighbourhood of the camp; represented to Maurice, and William, the low condition of their Finances; desired him to put his troops into winter quarters; and begged that he would diminish, as much as possible, the expence of shipping, horses, and other articles. Maurice very unwillingly consented. He hoped, that if the present opportunity was properly improved, and while the enemy was so much wasted, Fort St. Andrew might either be destroyed or taken; and thought it highly dishonourable, voluntarily to open a passage into the middle of the Provinces, when they had kept the Spaniards at a distance all the summer. He agreed, that the horses, ships, waggons, and other carriages, should be dismissed instantly; but proposed, that three forts should be erected on the side of the Wahal, to prevent the excursions of the garrison of St. Andrew. The expence of these forts was calculated at eighty thousand florins, which being reckoned too great a sum, several smaller ones were built along the dykes of the island of Tiel. Though Albert and Isabella were every day expected from Spain, and, as it was concluded, would attempt some action of consequence, in order to signalize the beginning of their government, strike terror into their enemies, and encourage the confidence of their subjects, the States found themselves under the necessity of reducing twenty-six English, thirteen German, as many Scots, and fourteen French companies, from two hundred to one hundred and thirteen men each; except those of the Colonels, who were allowed

allowed to have an hundred and fifty. They likewise ordered that every troop of horse, instead of a hundred, should consist of eighty only; and, that of a thousand Swiss who had been raised, only six hundred should be retained. These regulations too, were partly occasioned by the States suspecting, that as the number of their troops was greatly diminished during the campaign, the officers, though not having more in actual service, would convert the money intended for the pay of the rest to their own private use. By this means, the expence was lessened sixty thousand florins a-month, but loud complaints were excited among the soldiers, fifteen hundred of whom, in virtue of these regulations, though contrary to the suspicions entertained by the States, were disbanded*.

THOUGH some of the German Generals imagined, that the scheme of joining with the Confederates, and giving the command of their army to Maurice, would have been readily adopted by the States of the United Provinces, as the only means of employing it to any good purpose, yet some obstacles would have occurred, and prevented it from being put in execution. Maurice himself would probably not have chosen to expose himself to danger with troops so ill disciplined; nor would the General Estates have been willing to conjoin with them the forces destined for the defence of their own frontiers. Besides, they were alarmed with the report of great naval preparations making in Spain, which obliged Queen Elisabeth to withdraw

Isabella prohibits all trade between the Provinces.

* Reidani Annales, lib. 16. Such was the fame of Maurice, that Vicques, Governor of Calais, came to view his camp: and the Duke of Mantua, though he was attached to Albert, and had come from Italy along with him, yet, more disposed to acknowledge merit, than to take any concern in the quarrel, sent some of his attendants to Maurice, with presents and congratulations. Ibid. p. 482.

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draw the English auxiliaries, and at the time when the damage which threatened their commerce required their utmost attention. Philip II. tacitly allowed them to carry on a trade with Spain, afraid that if he should prohibit it altogether, the Confederates grown strong at sea, would extend their commerce to the other hemisphere. His successor, considering only the advantage which this trade afforded them, in supplying money for carrying on the war, thought the most expeditious method of reducing them to obedience, was to deprive them of this source of wealth. Albert and Isabella entered into the same narrow views; adopted the same ill-judged policy; and expressly discharged all their subjects to have any intercourse with them in trade. An edict was published, in the name of Isabella, which, after reciting the rebellion of the Confederates, and their obstinacy in rejecting all offers of peace, declared, That, by the advice of the Council of State, and the Privy Council, she prohibited all commerce with them, until they should be reconciled both to his Catholic Majesty, and to herself, as their lawful Prince. No persons whatever were allowed to transport into their territories, money, or goods of any kind, or to purchase any commodities from them; and such as transgressed this order were liable to be punished at the will of the Judges, and to have their effects forfeited. All immunities for fishing and sailing, and all passports, were to continue in force no longer than a month after the date of the edict; which space was allowed for those who were possessed of them to return home. This edict met with a slight opposition from some towns in Brabant and Flanders; for, as long as the communication with the several Provinces was open in the way of trade, the inhabitants felt less sensibly the effects

effects of the war, and were better able to support the expence. Book I.

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THE Confederates were particularly afraid of this restraint producing a mutiny among their sailors, and banishing the merchants. A bold and enterprising people, however, were not to be thus subdued; and the false policy of their enemies served to quicken their invention, to invigorate their efforts, and to push them on to try expedients, which, though both expensive and dangerous, appeared to be necessary. They determined upon the most spirited, and, perhaps, the only course which they could pursue. They resolved to make Spain herself feel that scarcity and want with which they were threatened; and, with this view, to equip a fleet of such force as would be sufficient to stop her trade with all other nations. This plan, no doubt, laboured under many difficulties. To render it successful, great part of Europe must be engaged; and, at a time when the contributions had been much higher than formerly, it would be no easy task to raise the money requisite for an undertaking of this nature. But preparations were instantly made for executing a design, the most noble and manly that the States had projected since their solemn renunciation of the authority of Philip. To raise money, a tax was laid upon every ship, of three florins for each ton, on large vessels, and the half of that sum upon smaller vessels, such as did not make long voyages, or were employed in the herring-fishery. But as it was supposed, that this would not produce what was sufficient, and could not be immediately procured, a tax was imposed of the two hundredth part on possessions, or property of any kind; and, that it might not be too heavy upon the poor, such as were not possessed of three thousand florins were altogether exempted.

The Confederates
equip a fleet
to attack
Spain.

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exempted. Such as were possessed of two hundred thousand florins, might compound by paying a thousand florins, which was the highest sum demanded from any person, whatever might be the extent of his property. As it was both difficult and odious, precisely to ascertain the property of those who were employed in trade, no enquiry was anxiously made. Every one was allowed to put a value on it himself, which he reported to the magistrates, and was not obliged to give it upon oath. If it afterwards appeared that he had stated it below the truth, the tax was heightened; but such was the moderation and prudence of the magistrates, that no complaints were heard, and no taxes were more cheerfully paid. Even many, who were liable to a hundred florins only, contributed, of their own accord, a thousand. At the Hague, particularly, where there were few merchants, the principal inhabitants being lawyers, or such as lived upon an annual income, no less than fifty thousand florins were collected. At Amsterdam, more than ten times that sum was raised. The Provinces, not so much concerned in trade, Gueldres, Utrecht, Friseland, Overijssel, Groninghen, and the Ommelands, highly approved of the design, though there was not time for assembling the several States to procure their consent; and allowed the Provinces of Holland and Zealand to draw out of the common fund, arising from exports and imports, whatever might be necessary. For want of ready money, the Colleges of the Admiralty bought ships, provisions, and warlike stores, at a certain price, to be paid at stated terms *.

Manifesto
 by the
 States.

WHEN every thing was ready, the General Estates published a manifesto, declaring their intentions. After mentioning shortly the causes of the

* Reidan, lib. 16. Ens.

the war, the late proceedings of the Spaniards, and the restraints now laid on their trade by his Catholic Majesty and Isabella, they represented, that they were now prepared, not only to repel all attacks, but likewise to invade the Spanish dominions. They expressed their hopes, that the neighbouring Princes would be excited to take up arms against the common enemy, and prevent the Spaniards from getting any support. They warned all persons, of whatever rank, not to sail into any of the harbours of Spain, Portugal, or of those countries which acknowledged the jurisdiction of Philip, or Albert and Isabella; or to supply their subjects with goods of any kind, either by land or water, under the penalty of having the ships, horses, and waggons, forfeited. All persons were carefully to enquire if any transgressed this order, and to give information; and the informer was promised a third part of the effects forfeited. The proprietor of the goods, the sailors, and captains of the vessels, were ordered to be kept in prison until they paid a fine, which should not be less than a thousand florins by the merchants, and fifty by the sailors or waggoners. No subject of the United Provinces was allowed to carry goods even to their Allies, without first obtaining the consent of the General Estates, or of the Admiral, and giving security that they should not be transported any where else; nor to purchase protections from the enemy, under the penalty of the forfeiture of the ship and cargo, and of the person so purchasing being liable to be punished as the Judges should direct. A copy of this edict was sent to the Queen of England, and the Kings of France, Denmark, and Scotland, with an earnest request, that they would give similar orders to their subjects. The King of France discharged the maritime towns in his dominions from carrying on any trade with Spain

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The fleet
sails.

Spain for six months; but the other Princes paid no regard to the requisition of the States*.

THE fleet consisted of seventy-three sail, having on board six thousand sailors and two thousand soldiers. The command of the ships was given to Peter van der Doës, and of the land-forces, to Stormius. They were instructed to destroy the fleet preparing by Philip, and at that time lying in the Groyne; to ravage the coasts; to intercept the American fleet; and to attack the islands belonging to his Catholic Majesty. When they arrived at the Groyne, they found that the Spaniards had retired within the protection of the fort, and were ready to receive them on shore, if they should attempt to land. Doës, not willing to lose time, again set sail, in hopes of seizing the ships lying at Seville, and which were destined for America. But he was too late; for they had sailed four days before. As he passed the mouth of the Tagus, some of his officers proposed the taking of Lisbon. But as this was thought impracticable, he steered towards the Fortunate, now called the Canary Islands. He attacked the largest, and, being opposed in his landing, lost a considerable number of men: but he took three forts, and set fire to the town, the inhabitants offering him a less ransom than he judged proper to accept. One Spanish ship was sunk, and two others taken. The island of Gomera was likewise assaulted, and treated in the same manner. Twenty-two guns, most of them of a large and middle size, some wine and oil were found in the island, and put aboard the ships. The Admiral, thinking that so great a force was not necessary in these seas, sent home one half of his fleet, laden with booty;

* Reidan, lib. 16. p. 458—461.

booty ; and proceeded, with the remainder, towards the coast of Brasil. In this course, four rich merchantmen were seized. Coming to the Island of St. Thomas, situated under the Equator, he landed his troops without meeting any resistance ; forced the capital, Pavaosa, to surrender ; and refusing ten thousand ducats, which the inhabitants offered for ransom from plunder, got immense booty, and set the town on fire. But his men suffered prodigiously from the heat of the climate and their own intemperance ; for, in the space of fourteen days, a thousand died. Does himself did not long survive. After his death, six of the vessels sailed towards Brasil, and the rest returned home. The former reaped no other advantage from their expedition, than the taking one Spanish ship. Aboard this vessel was Laurence Bicker, a famous merchant of Amsterdam. He had, two years before this, gone out with two ships, with a design to carry on trade in the river Plata, encouraged by letters which assured him, that he might do so with perfect safety. For some time he was not disturbed. But afterwards, he and his crew were apprehended, and all of them put to death, except Bicker himself, and two others who were sent to Lisbon to be burnt. From this dreadful fate they were happily relieved by the vessel appointed to carry them being taken by their countrymen. The sickness raged with such violence, that, in the whole fleet, before the voyage was completed, there were only two of the Captains alive, and some of the ships had not above six healthy men aboard. One of the vessels was altogether deserted, for want of hands to manage her ; and another, making for Zealand, was driven into the harbour of Sluys, during a thick fog, and seized by the enemy.

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A Spanish
fleet dis-
persed.

SCARCELY at any time more unfavourable could the Confederates have undertaken an expedition against the Spanish dominions. Philip had in the harbour of Ferrol, and the Groyne, thirty-eight men of war; eighteen galleons, from eight hundred to a thousand tons each; thirty-two of smaller burthen; and twenty-three transports, laden with all kinds of arms and warlike stores. Twenty thousand troops were likewise stationed on the coast, at the Groyne, and in the neighbourhood. It was generally believed, that he meditated a design against England; and so much did Elisabeth distrust the repeated assurances given her by the Spanish Ambassador at London, of his Catholic Majesty having no such intention, that she made great preparations for putting her fleet and army in order, and demanded from the United Provinces forty ships, two thousand sailors, and a thousand soldiers. Philip, upon hearing of Doës proceedings, had ordered his fleet to sail to the Canaries; but two days after, being informed that he had left these Islands, it was dispatched for Tercera, to protect the homeward bound Indian ships. Scarcely had it left the harbour, when part of the Confederates fleet passed by; but fortunately was not observed. A storm attacked the Spaniards when near Tercera, and obliged them to separate. Some of their ships were lost; and the rest with difficulty got into different ports*.

A sea en-
gagement
with Spino-
la.

ABOUT the same time, Frederic Spinola conducted to the assistance of the Spaniards in the Netherlands, six galleons, which arrived in the harbour of Sluys. He had on board sixteen hundred men, and greatly alarmed the merchants, and the

* Haræi Annales, tom. 3. p. 559. Thyſii Historia Navalis, Lug. Bat. 1657. 4to. cap. 26. Monſon's Naval Tracts, Book 1. Petit. Reidan. Grotius. Piſe, 665, &c.

the coast of Zealand. All these six vessels attacked at once the ship of Legier, who acted as Vice-Admiral of that Province; and an obstinate engagement ensued, though Legier had only seventy men. Several of the Confederates men of war were in sight, but were prevented by the winds and tide from coming up to his relief. Legier behaved with such bravery, and did so much damage to the galleons, that they were obliged to sheer off, after having fought three hours, and lost two hundred and fifty men. Thirty-two only were killed or wounded on board the Zealand ship. Spinola next assaulted three of the men of war belonging to the Confederates, but which he imagined were merchant ships. His enemies observed his mistake, and did not undeceive him, until he was very near, when they gave him a broadside, which did great execution. The battle lasted for six hours, in the sight of the people of Flushing; and at last, Spinola thought proper to retire*.

THE expedition of Doës not being followed with all the success that was expected, though the fleet brought home considerable booty, and the Confederates had the honour of having been able, with impunity, to insult his Catholic Majesty on his own coast; but especially, the losses occasioned by Dunkirk pirates, excited loud complaints in the United Provinces. Many reasons were assigned to justify that discontent which the people expressed. It was said, that though very heavy taxes had been imposed, and a prodigious sum of money collected, little damage was done to the enemy; that offices were bestowed upon persons of no merit; and that the Colleges of Admiralty were composed of men ignorant of sea affairs, indifferent to the public good, and attentive to their own interests

Some Dunkirk Pirates taken.

* Thyssii Historia Navalis, cap. 27. Ens, Historia.

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rests only. This dissatisfaction might have produced disagreeable consequences, had it not been in part removed, by five of the privateers being taken. According to the barbarous custom which then prevailed, all the crew were hanged.

Arrival of
Albert and
Isabella.
Sept. 5.

ALBERT, having remained at the Court of Spain ever since his marriage, set out with Isabella for the Netherlands; in his way, passed through Italy, where he was honoured with a present from the Pope of a consecrated sword; and arrived at Brussels in the beginning of September. They were received with great pomp; but it was observed, that they never once condescended to take the least notice of the people, who, in immense multitudes, paid them every mark of respect. Jacobus Baius a divine, congratulated them in a long speech, which he delivered kneeling on one knee; a posture of adulation in which the Flemings never, till now, appeared before their Prince. Albert found Cardinal Andrew and Mendoza at variance. In giving an account of their proceedings during his absence, each justified himself, and blamed the other. Mendoza, particularly, complained that the Cardinal, by building a fort, had obliged him to stay there until it was completed, though the troops might have been employed to more advantage in another place; and that though he had been severely condemned for his irruption into Germany, and the licentiousness of his soldiers, which had excited the resentment of the Princes of the Empire, he had undertaken this expedition in consequence of commands from the Cardinal and Council of State, to prevent disorders among the troops, who, in the space of eight months, had received only one month's pay. The manners of Albert, and of the Infanta did not afford the Flemings any encouragement to entertain agreeable expectations

expectations from their future government. Their pride disgusted a people unaccustomed to look up to their Princes with a superstitious veneration; and the luxury of their Court offended those, who, engaged in an expensive war, were loaded with taxes, and had long groaned under the hardships they suffered.

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THESE discontents appeared openly when mention was made of Albert and Isabella being inaugurated in the several Provinces, according to the custom observed at the accession of former Princes. The States of Brabant demanded, that the foreign troops should be dismissed; the new erected forts demolished, or the government of them conferred on natives; and, in general, insisted on the performance of every thing which Albert had promised when he went to Spain. The States of the Walloon Provinces desired, that the edict, by which they were prohibited from receiving from the confederated Provinces, commodities they could not want without great inconvenience, might be revoked. But neither got any satisfaction as to these articles. On the contrary, Isabella declared, that she was ignorant of the promises made by the Arch Duke; insisted that the forts and garisons were absolutely necessary for the defence of the country; and openly asserted, that, by such demands, they spoke as if already dissatisfied with their Princes.

Their demands from the Provinces acknowledging their jurisdiction.

THE uneasiness excited by such haughty language was encreased, by her soon after requiring large contributions for carrying on the war. She told the States, that a more numerous army had been maintained by Albert than was formerly in these Provinces; that, by this means, both the Rebels and Germans had been kept in awe; that a strong fort had been built in the enemies country;

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try ; the Rebels obliged to restore such places as they had taken in the territories of the Empire ; the passage over the Rhine secured ; and the entire command gained of the Maese and the Wahal. They had now an opportunity, she said, of reducing the Rebels, by furnishing a sufficient supply of money. Last year, the Province of Brabant had engaged to contribute twenty-five thousand florins, for one half year from the month of November, and eighteen thousand florins monthly, for four months after. But now forty-five thousand florins a-month must be paid through the whole year, for the support of garrisons ; and twenty-five thousand monthly, for six months, for the expences of the camp. To induce the States to comply, she told them, that a large sum of money would be remitted from Spain ; that, on these terms, they would be freed from all other burdens ; and that the troops, which otherwise would be obliged to procure their maintenance in the several garrisons, would be kept in camp, or stationed in the frontier towns. Such requisitions were very disagreeable to the States of Brabant ; and they separated, without giving their consent *. It was calculated, that if a like proportion was obtained from Flanders, Artois, and Henault, which were actually in a more flourishing condition than Brabant, the enormous sum of four hundred thousand florins a-month would be raised ; and it was suspected by some, that no money would be sent from Spain, but the whole expence of the war be furnished by the Provinces. The several States were so much displeased, that it was with difficulty Albert and Isabella could procure their consent to the ceremony of Inauguration, though proposed to be

* Carnero says, that Brabant gave 100,000 florins. Historia, l. 14. c. 3.

be performed in each Province separately. An event happened during the time of that ceremony, at Louvain in Brabant, which was interpreted as a bad presage of their future administration. Du Bois, Captain of a troop of the Confederates horse, set fire to two villages, and killed five hundred of the country people, in their very view*.

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THE Confederates, though their affairs at home wore as favourable an appearance as could reasonably be expected, were justly alarmed at the conduct of Queen Elisabeth. Her fleet had done nothing at sea, and her land forces were occupied with the war in Ireland. Essex had granted a truce to the rebels, and, by returning to England without her permission, had incurred her displeasure. As he had always advised the continuance of the war with Spain, but was now in disgrace, an inclination to peace seemed to prevail in her Majesty's councils. Elisabeth, indeed, commended the Confederates highly for their firmness and perseverance; and particularly, extolled their resolution in employing their arms against Philip, not only in the Netherlands, but likewise in Spain itself. She expressed great respect for Carron their Resident at London; showed favour on all occasions to their merchants; and instructed Vere to return them thanks for the assistance of their ships, and to assure them she was sensible that their fleet had diverted the Spaniards from their intended attack upon her dominions. At the same time, Albert and Isabella, well knowing the importance of such an ally to the Confederates, endeavoured by every means to detach her from their interest. Soon after their arrival in the Netherlands, they sent a messenger to notify this event; to assure her

Conduct of
Queen Elisabeth.

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of

* Carnero, l. 13. & 14. l. 14. c. 2. & 3. Grotius, p. 379. Reidan, p. 476.

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of their sincere desire to live at peace with their neighbours; and to propose the renewing of the ancient treaties with the House of Burgundy. She returned for answer, that, however much she was inclined to peace, she would do nothing without first consulting the General Estates of the United Provinces, and learning their sentiments. Accordingly, Carron was dispatched to the Hague, but came back with an account, that the States were in no disposition to enter into any treaty *.

Of the Em-
peror,

THE Emperor, likewise, thinking the present a fit opportunity, used every art to persuade the German Princes, that both the English and Confederates would make peace with Philip, and thus throw upon them the burden of a war with Spain. He even named Commissioners to repair to the Hague, and recommended to the States to enter into conferences. But, upon their applying for passports, they were refused; and the Commissioners told, that it was dangerous, both to the empire and to the United Provinces, to hearken to any proposals. The States, besides, expressed their surprise, that any of the German Princes should take part with the Spaniards, after the outrages which they had committed in their territories, while no satisfaction had been made for these injuries, and the places they had taken were not restored. To remind the Emperor of the reasons why they had always declined conferences for a peace, they sent him copies of the several memorials written on the subject; and assured him, that so far from having changed their sentiments, they were, on the contrary, the more confirmed in them by the behaviour of the new King, and of Albert and

* Camdeni Annales. Birch's View of the Negotiations between the Courts of England, France, and Brussels; p. 190, &c.

and Isabella. They represented, that the discharging of all commerce both with Spain and the several Provinces, and the transferring of the sovereignty to Isabella, in such manner as to render the Netherlands always dependent upon the Crown of Spain, and to put it out of the power of the Prince to make any concessions with regard to the religion, liberties, or laws of the country, sufficiently showed, that the professions of a desire for peace were not sincere, and that no reasonable conditions could be expected †.

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ALBERT still continued to press Elisabeth to make a separate peace; and used all the arguments which had been formerly urged, though she had absolutely refused to enter into a defensive league with Philip, deliver up the cautionary towns, or, what he chiefly wished, to prohibit all trade with the Confederates ‡.

WHILE the United States were yet uncertain what course Elisabeth would pursue, and very anxious about the resolution she would form, Carron came from England, with an account, that her Majesty had signified to him, that she would be obliged, by the repeated complaints of her subjects, who would no longer be excluded from trading to Spain, to make peace with Philip. She accompanied this declaration, which she knew would give much uneasiness to the States, with a warm exhortation to continue firm in the defence of their liberty; never to subject themselves to a foreign power; equally to avoid both the Austrian and French government; and, if they chused to bestow the sovereignty upon any one person, to prefer

and of the
Confederates.

F 2

Maurice.

† Reidan, p. 487. Grotius, p. 380.

‡ Camdeni Annales, in anno 1599.

BOOK I. Maurice. To lessen their fears, she added, that
 1599. she could be more serviceable to them by being
 at peace with Philip; and that, in this case, she
 would not be forced, by the situation of her own
 affairs, to withdraw her troops, or to insist so per-
 emptorily on the repayment of her money. The
 States were, no doubt, vexed at this message, but
 thought it a fortunate circumstance, that Elizabeth
 had communicated her intentions with such free-
 dom. Many individuals were sorry at her resolu-
 tion of making peace with Philip; but none of the
 towns were much alarmed, except those in the
 province of Zealand, which discovered evident
 marks of a strong inclination to treat with Albert.
 Notwithstanding the contributions were much
 higher than formerly, when the enemy hoped the
 burthen was so great that it would cause an insur-
 rection, the States of the province of Holland,
 which alone paid, this year, two hundred and se-
 venty-six thousand nine hundred and sixty-two
 florins, while the whole contributions from Zea-
 land, Utrecht, Friseland, Groningen, and the
 Ommelands amounted only to a hundred and
 eighty-seven thousand and nine florins, readily con-
 sented to the demand of the Council of State for a
 new aid; and so resolute were they in their oppo-
 sition to any treaty, that they insinuated, that if
 the other Provinces would not heartily concur,
 they would take no charge of their neighbours,
 would defend themselves, and maintain their supe-
 riority at sea.

Disposition
 of the Ger-
 man Prin-
 ces.

AMIDST the fears excited by the conduct of
 Elizabeth, the Confederates derived some consola-
 tion from the spirit which began to appear among
 a few of the German Princes. Albert's remon-
 strances, joined with those of the Emperor, had, as
 was suspected, considerable effect, and gained over
 the

the Princes of Brunswick and Hesse. But the Elector Palatine, having learned the disposition of Elisabeth, and the determination of the States, animated those of his own religion, both by his exhortations and example. He reminded them of what the Duke of Alva and Mendoza had done, and that the United Provinces could not be subdued without danger to their own dominions. He sent John of Nassau, William's brother, to the States, with an offer, that he, and some other of the Princes, would furnish as much money as would be sufficient to maintain ten thousand foot, and two thousand horse, for three months, provided the States would pay them for two months longer, join their whole force with this army, and attempt the recovery of Rees, and Rhineberg. He proposed, that afterwards, the conjunct body of troops should march wherever the States pleased; and if they were not able to raise their proportion of the money immediately, he consented to accept of repayment at certain stated terms. The Confederates, whilst afraid of being deserted by Elisabeth, were highly pleased with these offers; and, notwithstanding the heavy taxes under which they laboured, willingly agreed to furnish, within two years, four hundred thousand florins; to join the German army with eight thousand foot, and two thousand horse; to provide cannon and warlike stores, to the value of eight hundred thousand florins; and, to give twenty-five thousand for paying pioneers for five months. They demanded, however, that the Elector, besides furnishing the pay, powder, and ball, should give twelve or fifteen thousand German florins a-month for the same space; increase the proposed number of his troops a third part; and to prevent all disputes, should either take the chief command himself, or, if he conferred it upon another, give no particular instructions,

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instructions, but leave him to act as circumstances might require. It was agreed, that the Elector, or the General appointed by him, should have the sole command in Germany, and Maurice in the Netherlands. The Elector had further proposed to the States, to enter into a perpetual league with the Empire; to contribute to the war against the Turks; and, in the mean time, to deliver up Shenck's Fort. But, as to these articles, they answered, that, as they were matters of great consequence, they must be delayed, and be communicated to the States of the several provinces.

WHEN John went to the Hague, the Spaniards abandoned Rees. The States easily perceived their design. They foresaw, that Albert would have cunning enough to restore such towns as, by means of the inhabitants of Cologne and Cleves, who were attached to his interest, he could recover at any time, and thus attempt to pacify the German Princes, and cool their ardour for war. For this reason, they begged of John, that if such should be the effect of Albert's artifice, he would endeavour to prevail with the Princes to assist them privately with money, and assured him, that they would give the Arch Duke so much trouble, that he should neither have leisure nor power to do any injury. The Spaniards, by still retaining Rhineberg, and transporting thither their artillery, warlike stores, and even the garrison of Rees, showed that they were resolved to keep possession of that town, in order to have the command of the Rhine. The Elector, very unwillingly to relinquish his plan altogether, went with John of Nassau to the Princes of Brunswick, Saxony, Brandenburg, and Hesse, in hopes of being able to persuade them to raise an army, or, at least, to furnish the Confederates with some money.

ney. He himself remitted a hundred thousand florins, and warmly exhorted them to follow his example. But all his endeavours were ineffectual*.

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THE changes occasioned by the war made some new regulations, with regard to the administration of justice, necessary in particular provinces. As the town of Ghent, where the Council of Flanders used to reside, had been taken by the Prince of Parma †, the inhabitants of the other towns in that province which still continued under the jurisdiction of the General Estates of the United Provinces, were deprived of the privilege of appeals from the inferior courts. To remedy this inconvenience, the General Estates nominated six Counsellors, and a Secretary, to judge in all causes in which their subjects in Flanders were concerned, with the same authority which the former Council at Ghent had enjoyed; and appointed this new Court to sit in Middleburg, in Zealand. It had power to determine both in appeals, and in the first instance, in some particular cases ‡.

The new Council of Flanders instituted.

THE Confederates, at the very time that they were struggling with many difficulties, in defending themselves against a formidable enemy at home, were attentive to the encrease of their Commerce, from which they expected to derive great advantages. Before the eight vessels, sent last year to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope,

Three ships sent to the East Indies.

* Reidani Annales, lib. 16. p. 489. Grotius, p. 381.

† Anno 1584.

‡ The Advocates who pled before this court were obliged to take an oath, that they would not defend any cause which they did not believe to be just. Janicon Etat present des Provinces Unies; tom. 2. chap. 14.

BOOK I. Hope, could return, three more were dispatched,
 1599. by the same route, well provided with arms, and
 put under the command of Etienne van Hagen,
 a man of courage and experience *.

1600.
 State of parties.

A WAR so tedious and burthenfome had much exhausted both parties; and though each had exerted its utmost strength last campaign, there was still no prospect of a peace. The Arch Duke received very little money from Spain, and found his ordinary revenues much decreased by all commerce being discharged. On these accounts, he was obliged to load Brabant with heavy taxes. In answer to the complaints of the people, he not only declared, that the sum demanded was absolutely necessary, but upbraided them for discovering any signs of discontent; and said, that it would be dishonourable for subjects to decline giving to their lawful Prince, and for the defence of a just cause, what their enemies contributed cheerfully to support rebellion. Notwithstanding that his troops wanted pay for eight months, and he, and his domestics, owed to the inhabitants of Brussels above a million of florins, the luxury of his Court was not diminished. It was more splendid than even that of the Emperor Charles V.; and is said by some, to have cost six thousand florins a-day. In January, he gave one month's pay to his troops; but as they had expected more, they mutinied in several places. Two thousand foot and eight hundred horse † assembled at Hamont and Diest, and laid all the neighbouring country under contribution. The citizens of Antwerp were forced to maintain the garrison in the castle, and to give them four hundred florins a-day.

* Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi, &c. tom. 3 p. 342.

† Bentivoglio. But Reidan says, 3000 foot and 1000 horse.

a-day. Fourteen hundred Germans and Walloons, in garrison in Crevecœur and Fort St. Andrew, demanded no less than thirty months pay; and, making a truce with Ernest of Nassau, who guarded the opposite side of the river, turned their cannon against Bois-le-duc.

BOOK I.
1600.

THE Confederates likewise had good reason to be uneasy on account of the situation of their affairs. The sum of one million two hundred thousand florins, which had been expended above the calculated rate, was first to be paid. The Admiralty owed three millions of florins; and the States of Zealand thirty-six months pay to their sailors. The most strenuous endeavours were employed to induce the several provinces to contribute liberally. But all of them did not show the same readiness. Holland discovered the greatest alacrity; though, by the exportation of manufactures into the enemy's country being prohibited, many of the workmen had left Leyden, Harlaem, and Alkmaer, and the funds were by these means greatly diminished. The States of that Province, with a spirit which no hardships could overcome, not only discharged, under the same penalties that Albert had threatened, the carrying goods of any kind into Brabant and Flanders, and engaged to pay their proportion, though great of the immense contributions demanded by the Council of State*; but likewise, in order to support their reputation, and to show that they had not, last year, attempted what exceeded their abilities, proposed to equip a fleet. The capitation tax was doubled, and all the other taxes encreased. In Zealand, there were loud complaints; and the States not only applied the money, destined for the

* Their proportion amounted, this year, to five millions of florins.

Book I.
1600.

the common service, in their own defence, but, besides, asked assistance from the other Provinces. Numbers were inclined to a peace, and even imagined that Maurice himself was disposed to it; but that, not daring to declare his opinion openly, he had procured exorbitant demands to be made, with a design of frightening them from the war. So opposite, however, were his sentiments, that he consulted with his confidents about reducing Flushing, and the other towns in Walcheren; and resolved to stand out to the last, in case Elisabeth should make peace with Spain, and prevail with the Confederates to enter into the treaty. With the same view, he warned William to keep in his possession some of the strongest towns in his government. Of all the Provinces, Friseland had least reason to be backward in paying contributions, as that territory had not, for many years, been impoverished by either of the armies. Yet so agreeable is any proposal for lessening taxes, that though the States of the Province were four months assembled, nothing was determined. One article which caused much debate, was the manner in which money should be raised; some insisting that the duties upon exportation should be increased, in order that part of the burden might be laid upon their neighbours. The people in the country were willing that a tax should be laid upon wine, salt, vinegar, ale, and turf for fuel; but demanded that their cattle, and the produce of their fields should be exempted. The towns, on the other hand, opposed this plan; but, at last, it was agreed, that the Province should pay a contribution a third part less than what the Council of State had required*.

DURING

* Reidani Annales, lib. 17. p. 494, &c.

DURING the winter, Lewis of Nassau surprised the town of Watchtendonck, in Gueldres. The inhabitants, thinking themselves safe, by being at a distance from any of the Confederates garrisons, had neglected to break the ice, which afforded access to the very walls; and great part of the garrison had gone out in search of plunder. Lewis entered without any opposition. The Governor accompanied by eighty of his men, fled into the castle; but soon after surrendered. As this town was well situated for discovering the designs of the enemy, Lewis put into it a strong body of troops. His soldiers got considerable booty; for the people in the country had lodged there, as in a place of safety, their best effects, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the Spaniards, who for want of pay, seized every thing within their reach †.

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1600.
Wachten-
donck
taken. Jan.
23.

A VERY unusual combat happened on the field of Vucht, between Bois-le-duc and Gertruydenberg, Breauté, a French nobleman, and Captain of a troop of horse in the service of the Confederates, challenged Leckerbet, Lieutenant to Anthony Schetz, Baron of Grobbendonck, to a fight of twenty horsemen on each side. Leckerbet had spoken disrespectfully both of the French nation, and of Breauté himself, who being young, passionate, and eager to vindicate his honour and courage, did not reflect on the impropriety of a conduct so much beneath his rank; Leckerbet having been a deserter, and rendered infamous, by being concerned in betraying Gertruydenberg ‡.

A remark-
able com-
bat. Feb.

Breauté

† Haræi Annales. Carnero. Bentivoglio. Ens. Grotius. Reidan.

‡ Anno 1589. His real name was Gerard Abraham, but he was nicknamed Leckerbet, which signifies a Scullion, or Licker of

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1600.

Breauté was not so careful as he ought to have been in chusing his attendants. Leckerbet, on the contrary, picked out of three hundred men twenty of the bravest; and had ordered them, with a view to this combat, to exercise themselves and their horses for a month before. It was stipulated, that none of the parties should carry any other weapons than such as were commonly used in war. But Leckerbet's men had longer muskets, and, as was afterwards discovered, double breast-plates, and short daggers. Breauté was first on the ground; and his Antagonists sent him from Bois-le-duc some bread, cheese, and wine, as refreshments. They soon afterwards came out; and the combatants having viewed one another, each man singled out his foe. The two leaders were distinguished by their dress, and began the battle. At the first onset, Breauté shot Leckerbet through the head, and laid him dead on the spot. Two more on each side were likewise killed. For some time, the French seemed to have the advantage; but, in the third attack, their courage failed; and one La Pierre, Breauté's constant companion, in whom he confided, flying, some others followed his example. Breauté himself, after changing horses several times, fought for a while on foot, but at last surrendered. He insisted, that a promise had been given that his life, and the lives of the few who remained, should be saved. The other party denied that any such promise was made; and Grobbendonck, when he heard of the issue of this engagement, sent some soldiers from Bois-le-duc, who

of dishes. Several authors say, that he challenged Breauté; and Haræus, that the quarrel was occasioned by Breauté speaking disrespectfully of Grobbendonck's troops. Carnero mentions 21 engaged on each side, and Haræus 22.

who basely murdered Breauté, with four others taken prisoners †.

BOOK I.

1600.

MAURICE, resolved to take advantage of the confused state of the enemy's affairs, made preparations, during the winter, for attacking the forts Crevecoeur and St. Andrew. He endeavoured to gain over the mutineers in the latter of these places, by promises of favour; and the General Estates offered to give them a hundred and fifty thousand florins, in compensation for the thirty months pay they demanded from Albert. This sum the States were the more willing to bestow, because they knew that the artillery, and warlike stores laid up in the fort, were of great value. But the inhabitants of Bois-le-duc satisfied them, by collecting money, and engaging to pay, at certain stated terms, what was wanting. Maurice therefore suddenly shut up Crevecoeur both by land and water. The third day after, the garrison surrendered; and two companies of Germans and Walloons, not chusing to trust the Spaniards, joined the States army; the rest, being at liberty to go where they pleased, retired to Fort St. Andrew. A party of horse, dispatched to reinforce the garrison, came too late; were refused admittance into Bois-le-duc; and, being attacked by the Confederates, were routed. Three hundred of them were killed.

Maurice
takes
Crevecoeur.
March 23.

MAURICE next brought up his artillery before Fort St. Andrew; and, by stopping the mouth of the

and Fort St.
Andrew.
May 3.

† Miræi Chronicon. Carnero. Haræus. Reidan. Petit. Pise. Different accounts are given of the numbers killed on each side. Grotius makes the following just Reflection: "Digno probrosis hominibus facinore: et documento tamen apud magnanimam juventutem, ne falsa virtutis imagine id genus certamina affectent, unde nec victoria in publicum utilis, et mors apud sapientes nihil majus venia meretur." Historia, lib. 9 p. 384.

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1600.

the river Diefle, and cutting the dykes, all the ground round Bois-le-duc was overflowed. The water rose so high, that no fortifications could be raised on that side. But, on the Brabant side, he erected several small forts, to prevent any supply coming to the besieged; planted some cannon against the fort; and forced the Castle of Battenburg, the only place where any passage could be got, to capitulate. The garrison could not shelter themselves from his cannon; but, notwithstanding, appeared as determined to make an obstinate resistance. For, when summoned to yield, they shot at the messenger, and refused to listen to any proposals. Two of the Spaniards, who were attempting to escape by swimming, that they might inform the inhabitants of Bois-le-duc of the situation of the Fort, were caught; and, upon promises from Maurice, offered him their assistance. One was kept in the camp, and the other sent to Bois-le-duc to learn what relief could be afforded. When he returned, both were allowed to go back to the Fort: But the one, betrayed by his companion, was shot to death, and his body thrown over the walls into the river, with this inscription: “A traitor to his country; let him now go to Maurice, and receive his reward.”

WHEN Maurice perceived that the mutiny would not be so serviceable as had been expected, he thought only of reducing the fort by famine; and having shut up all the passes with three thousand men, was ready to oppose, with the rest of his army, any reinforcement which might be brought to the besieged; or, if necessary, succour Nimmeguen, or Wachtendonck, in case they should be attacked by Albert. Velasco, who had succeeded Mendoza in the Command of the Spanish foot, and Barlotta, who had succeeded Frederic

deric de Berg, as General of the horse, advanced with eight thousand men, to relieve the Fort, and encamped near Bois-le-duc. But when, by the end of April, the waters had subsided, and Maurice brought the entrenchments to the very foot of the walls, the Garrison, again summoned to surrender, being now more sensible of their danger, allowed his messenger to propose terms. A hundred and twenty-five thousand florins, and honourable conditions were offered. They demanded the arrears of their pay, to the amount of six hundred thousand florins; and Maurice, not disposed to give so large a sum, carried on his works with the greatest dispatch. The Garrison could not fail to observe this; and alarmed with his progress, of their own accord begged a parley. The terms of a capitulation were soon settled. It was agreed to give them the promised sum of a hundred and twenty-five thousand florins*; that until the money was paid, they should faithfully keep the Fort for the Estates of the United Provinces; that they should renounce their oath to the King of Spain, and the Arch Duke; and take the same oath with the Confederate soldiers. No time was to be lost in securing so important an acquisition. The money was paid in three days after; and eleven hundred and forty-two men marched out of the Fort, and engaged in the service of the States. In this manner, they not only received an addition to their army of some of the best troops his Catholic Majesty ever had, but got possession of a place which had cost an immense expence, and the greater part of last Summer in building; and which, it was thought, would command the Provinces of Gueldres, Over-yffel, Utrecht, and even Holland. Eighteen large cannon, ninety barrels of powder, a great quantity of

* Carnero says the sum was 50,000 crowns.

BOOK I. of fire-arms, and ball, and abundance of provisions of all kinds, found in the Fort, were more than equal in value to the money *.

1600.

Disturbances
in Gronin-
ghen.

THE Joy natural on this success was somewhat damped by discords among the Confederates themselves. The conduct of the city of Groningen had long occasioned much uneasiness to the General Estates. Some of the principal inhabitants had represented to the people, that they were more oppressed by the General Estates, than when they were under the government of his Catholic Majesty; and prevailed so far by their intrigues, that the orders of the Estates were disobeyed, and the contributions for the town, and Ommelands, had not been paid. The General Estates perceived the necessity of giving some check to this seditious spirit, and several methods were proposed; such as, that the walls of the town should be thrown down, and the inhabitants disarmed; or that a castle should be built, and provided with a strong garrison. Though all these schemes were unsuitable to the constitution of a free republic, yet the dangers of a rebellion, in any part, were so obvious, that it was resolved, as most consistent with the principles of liberty, to prevent the inhabitants from doing much mischief, by taking away their arms, and the artillery; to banish the most turbulent; and confer the magistracy upon such persons as were best disposed to promote the general interest. Six troops of horse, and eight companies of foot were accordingly sent, under the command of Oliver Temple, with orders to William of Nassau to introduce them into the town, and to execute these resolutions. William, though he had always advised milder measures, obeyed. He assembled the

* Carnero, lib. 14. cap. 6. Petit. Ens. Reidan. Grotius. Pise.

the garrison, as if he designed to review them; and likewise the Magistrates, to whom he intimated the orders of the States, and demanded an immediate compliance. They refused, and William shut the gates. The Citizens, when they saw such a number of troops, were terrified; locked up their doors; and began to hide under ground their most valuable effects. The soldiers were distributed in several quarters of the town, and money given them, that they might purchase victuals, without oppressing the inhabitants. Next day, Deputies from the General Estates came to Groningen, and required that the town, with the Ommelands, should pay six hundred and twenty-five thousand florins, the contributions due for several years; a part within fourteen days, and the remainder within a month. The inhabitants were threatened, that if they did not comply, force would be used. The Magistrates pled, that this money could not be procured without a tumult, and that the country people were unable to contribute any thing, on account of the badness of their crops. But it was thought unreasonable that they should be protected in the enjoyment of their liberties, while they were at no part of the expence; and dangerous, to allow them an indulgence which might prove an ill example to others. A dispute was carried on for a whole month concerning the manner in which the money was to be raised. The Ommelands proposed, that a thousand of the most opulent inhabitants should each advance a hundred florins; and that a capitation tax upon each house, and a tax upon the letting of houses or lands, should be imposed. But the citizens of Groningen would not agree to give any money, and obstinately insisted for the immunity that they had formerly enjoyed. They were therefore disarmed;

BOOK I.
1600.

and as they still refused to obey, a castle was ordered to be built, notwithstanding repeated remonstrances made by Deputies whom they had sent to the Hague. When a third part of it was erected, and they saw that the States, by employing twelve hundred men in the work, would soon have it compleated, they dispatched another embassy, offering to submit to whatever was required, and to give hostages as a security for fulfilling their engagements; but begging that they might be allowed to have a conference with the States on the subject of the taxes. This submission, however, was rejected; and they were ordered to pay, in the first place, four hundred thousand florins. Such severity gave rise to new complaints. But the event justified the rigour of the measures; and when the principal authors of the disturbance were carried to the Hague, but no otherwise punished, and the magistracy conferred upon persons of a more peaceable disposition, these contentions ceased.

And in
Friseland.

DISPUTES run very high, likewise, in Friseland. Four hundred thousand florins had been appropriated for the expence of the war, too small a sum in the present situation of affairs; for the States of that Province did not reflect, that, if the other Provinces also should lessen their contributions, they must yield to the enemy. The inhabitants of the towns insisted for a tax upon cattle and pasture lands; the country people opposed this mode of levying money; and so violent was the contest, that part of the Deputies left Lieuwarden, where the States used to meet, went to Franekar, and held a separate assembly. By the interposition of the other Provinces, these differences were at last accommodated by Arbiters, and matters returned to their former condition.

DURING

DURING these contentions, Herman, Count Mansfeldt, and Charles Nutzel, as Commissioners from the Emperor, arrived at the Hague. They spoke in a much higher strain than was consistent with the feeble conduct of the German Princes in the field, last campaign. They demanded, that the Confederates should quit such places as they had taken in the Empire, and repay the damages done by their soldiers. Threatenings were added, if they did not instantly comply. These commissioners declared that they had no instructions to talk of a peace, but were authorised to say, that, whatever sentiments the States entertained on this subject, the Emperor was determined not to allow their troops to overrun his territories or commit any violence, for the future. Notwithstanding, when they observed that the Confederates were very averse to all conferences concerning a peace, they recommended a truce; and insinuated, that they would prevail with the Provinces subject to the Arch-duke, to consent. The General Estates, though, as formerly, they imputed all the evils of which the Emperor complained, to the Spaniards, who had first entered his territories, agreed, after a short deliberation, to withdraw their garrison from Emmeric; and, in return, desired that the Spaniards should be obliged to evacuate Rhineberg. The Emperor's Commissioners received no farther satisfaction, except such an answer to the proposal for a truce as had, on many other occasions, been repeated, and which contained a refusal to treat with an enemy in whose promises no confidence could be placed †.

Book I.

1600.

An Embassy
from the
Emperor.

WHAT, no doubt, served to render the Confederates less disposed for peace, was the success which

Return of
Van Neck's
fleet from
the East
Indies.

G 2

† Reidan, lib. 17. Grotius, p. 385. Ens.

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1600.

which had hitherto attended their expeditions to the East Indies. Van Neck's fleet, consisting of eight vessels, returned this year. They sailed from the Texel the first day of May in the year fifteen hundred and ninety-eight, and were so fortunate as to double the Cape of Good Hope by the twenty-ninth of July following. But, on the eighth of August, they were separated by a storm. Five of them, the *Amsterdam*, aboard which Wybrant van Warwyk had hoisted his flag, as Vice Admiral, the *Zealand*, the *Guedres*, the *Utrecht*, and the yacht, *Friseland*, made directly for an island, called Cerne by the Portuguese. The other three, the *Maurice*, Van Neck's own ship, the *Holland*, and the small yacht, *Overijssel*, got into the island St. Mary. These last vessels, finding no provisions in this island, proceeded in their route, and arrived in the Bay of d'Anton Gil. Here the Flemings offered to an Indian, who had been carried to Holland in the first expedition *, and who attended them back in this voyage, to leave him in his own country; but he declined to accept of this proposal, and said, he would rather continue in their company than return to a place where he would now be unknown. Staying only five days at d'Anton Gil, where the petty princes were at war with one another, and where the inhabitants lived in great poverty, they sailed for Bantam, and anchored in that Road about the end of November. When Heemkerk went on shore, he found, that the natives imagined they were, according to the representation which the Portuguese had given of them, no other than pirates, who had come with an hostile intention. The Flemings, however, by sending

Bantam.

* Anno 1595.

sending Abdul, a Chinese *, with the present of a gilded cup, some glass, and a few pieces of silk and velvet, procured an audience of the Governor, who acted in the name of the King, at that time an infant. He received them with great respect, and granted them liberty to trade with the natives. In the space of five weeks they got a very valuable cargo.

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1600.

BEFORE the island, where the other part of the fleet arrived, there was a good road, with more than a hundred fathoms of water, and which they called *Warwyk* in honour of the Vice Admiral. The island itself, which they named *Maurice*, was about fifteen leagues in circumference, situated twenty degrees south of the Equinoctial, and opposite to Madagascar. The country was high and mountainous, but covered with very tall trees. They found no inhabitants, neither men, nor other animals, except a great quantity of birds. The Vice Admiral made a kind of table, which he hung upon a tree, and engraved on it the arms of Holland, Zealand, and Amsterdam, and an inscription, bearing that it was placed there by Christians of the Reformed Religion. He likewise sowed a spot of plain ground with different seeds, and left some poultry. Proceeding on his voyage, he soon after joined the other vessels at Bantam. The *Maurice*, the *Holland*, and the two yachts were sent home, loaded with a cargo of four hundred lasts of pepper, a hundred lasts cloves, and a small quantity of mace and cinnamon †.

Cerne, or
Maurice
Island.

THE

* Abdul was a native of Bengal, but lived at Bantam. He had gone to Holland with the Flemings who were in the first voyage, and was now returning. He spoke both the Portuguese and Malais languages.

† They arrived safe in July 1599.

Book I.

1600.
Java.

Tuban.

THE other four vessels, commanded by Warwyk, as Admiral, in place of Neck, who returned to Holland, and by Heemskerck, as Vice Admiral, pursued their route towards the Moluccas. Sailing along the coast of Java; they were attacked by a tempest, and for five days were obliged to keep out to sea; but, on the twenty-second of January 1599, came in view of Tuban, on that island, and a sea-port. They sent their boat on shore with some presents for the Prince; and, in return, received nineteen sacks of rice, and a visit from his son. According to the report of the natives, the King of Tuban was the most powerful prince in the whole island, and could, in a day's time, assemble together several thousand troops, both infantry and cavalry. One day, he came down to the shore, sitting cross-legged upon an elephant, and under a canopy which protected him from the sun or rain. His clothes were of black velvet. He made signs for some of the Flemings to come ashore; and, when they got on land, he dismounted, and conducted them to his palace. They ascended by some steps, and entered a gate which led into an outer court, where his elephants were kept. They next entered the palace, which was inclosed with walls of brick. In one apartment was the Prince's baggage, in large chests, heaped one upon another; in a second were his fighting cocks; in another, his dogs. They were likewise carried into the apartments of his women. One contained his wives, four in number, with whom he had six sons, and two daughters. In another apartment were his concubines, of whom, it was said, he had no fewer than three hundred. They were also shown the place where he kept his horses, which were of a small size, but reckoned of great value, as they were rare in that country. When they came into the King's own chamber, he sat down

down upon a bed, or couch of silk, elevated a little above the floor, filled with cotton, and provided with cushions. A great part of the room was open, for the benefit of cool air; and a number of cages, with turtle-doves, were hung up in different places. A mat was spread on the floor, on which the Flemings sat down. The King asked them a variety of questions, and listened with great attention to their answers, but particularly to the account that they gave of their manner of carrying on war. His Court was attended by many of the nobility, who were likewise merchants, and traded in silk, cotton, and a kind of camblets, all which they sent to Bali, and got other manufactures, particularly coarser cloth, in return. These goods they transported to Banda, Ternate, and the Philippine Islands; for which they brought back mace, cloves, and other spiceries. The common people lived mostly by fishing, and the profits of their cattle. They wore a piece of cloth round their middle, the rest of their body was naked; but the better ranks had a short vest of camblet. Such as could afford the expence kept slaves, and never walked abroad without ten or twelve in their train; some of whom carried a small chest of beetle nut, which their masters were constantly chewing. They had horses, likewise, and held frequent jousts and tournaments, at which they were very alert.

THE fleet, leaving Tuban, anchored between Madura. the smallest island, Madura, and Java, and afterwards, before the town of Joartam. Having in vain enquired here for a pilot to conduct them to the Moluccas, the Admiral's ship, and the *Utrecht*, steered their course towards the western side of the island of Madura; and forty of the crew landing, went into a town named Arosabaia, small, but

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1600.

but inclosed with thick walls, and fortified with platforms. Here they intended to buy rice, and some other provisions. In consequence of a representation made to the King, that some of his slaves had been killed the year before by people of the same nation, the natives seized on them and put them in prison. Some of their companions, who had gone to enquire after them, shared the same fate. The Admiral, immediately upon receiving this intelligence, dispatched a message to the Vice Admiral, requiring him to come to his assistance. When he arrived, a negociation was begun for the relief of the prisoners. But, as an exorbitant ransom was demanded, the Admiral resolved to employ force. The boats were equipped, and a hundred and fifty men, well armed, were put aboard. As they approached the land, they saw a great number of people assembled before the town, with two Portuguese as their leaders, who made signs for a parley. Twenty of the Flemings went ashore; but the natives attacked them, and killed three or four. The Admiral called the rest back to the vessels, that all the boats might join in making an assault. When they were advancing a second time, a squall of wind overset two of the boats, the one containing thirty-six, the other thirteen men. Twenty-four were either drowned or massacred by the natives, who leaped into the water to kill them. The rest had their lives spared, at the intercession of a renegado Portuguese, whom they had seen at Tuban; but were made prisoners. The Admiral, after this unsuccessful attempt, renewed the conferences for the ransom of his crew, and agreed for two thousand pieces of Eight. All of them returned, except two, who voluntarily remained in the island.

THE

THE fleet again set sail in the middle of February, and arrived on the third of March, in the Straits of Amboina, about twenty-four leagues north-west of Banda. Amboina produces a variety of fruits, as oranges, lemons, citrons, and cocoa, and is particularly fertile in cloves, which made some reckon it one of the Moluccas, from an opinion that cloves grew no where else but in these islands. The Admiral of the island came aboard, and being informed, that the design of the Flemings was to trade with the natives, and that they had brought goods for that purpose, invited them ashore. In a few days they had a house assigned them for storing their goods. They soon found, however, that they could not procure, in this island, full cargoes for all their ships. It was therefore agreed, that while two of them continued at Amboina, the other two should go to Banda. Accordingly, the *Zealand* and *Guedres* set sail. In this course, they had a proof of the superstition and credulity of the Indians. For, when they came in sight of an uninhabited island about five leagues north-west of Banda, the pilot, whom they had taken to conduct them, said it was haunted by an evil spirit; used his utmost endeavours to keep at a distance from it; and sung, and whistled, as he passed, in order to soothe and pacify the dæmon.

A FEW days brought them to Banda, where Banda. they were kindly received by the Sabandar, the chief officer in the King's household, and allowed to trade with the natives. They staid here from the end of March to the beginning of July, when they returned home; and, in April 1600, arrived safe in the Texel, with a very valuable cargo of different spiceries. They bought, when they first came to Banda, a barre of mace, which weighed

BOOK I.

1600.

weighed five hundred and twenty-five pounds, Flemish, for sixty reals of Eight, a barre of cloves for forty-five reals, and a barre of nutmegs for six reals; but the natives afterwards raised the price. The island was supposed to extend, from north to south, three leagues, and to be one league in breadth. The capital town was called Nera, the inhabitants of which were at constant war with those of another town called Labbetacca, at about a league's distance. They were all Mahometans, and scrupulously observed the ceremonies of that religion, in making frequent prayers, and washing their feet before they entered the mosque. Assemblies were held in a wood, where they consulted together concerning the public affairs of the island, and those of their allies, who lived in the adjoining islands of Pulo Rim, Pulo Wai, and Lontoor. On these occasions, they eat together, sitting on the ground, their bread called Sagu, and boiled rice. During the feast, the company are entertained by two of the nobility or chiefs, who, in constant succession, carry on a mock-fight. Their arms are a large shield and sabre. When they go upon any expedition, each person has two javelins, which they throw very dextrously, and seldom miss their aim. They had likewise a few muskets and brass cannon. When any of the natives die, the women set up a loud cry, in hopes of awakening him; and when they perceive it has no effect, a feast is prepared, to which all the relations of the deceased are invited. The body is carried to the grave on shoulders, the men going before, the women following; and is buried wrapt up in a piece of cotton-cloth. After the interment, incense is burnt night and day; a lamp is kept burning in the night; and every night and morning, for some time, numbers repair to the grave, and offer up prayers, which they

they say prevents the person from rising again. The people generally live to a great age. The work is all performed by the women. The tree which bears the nutmeg resembles the peach tree; but the leaves are more round, and not so large. The fruit is covered with a thick skin, almost as hard as the shell of a nut. As it grew only in Banda, and the neighbouring islands, they were much frequented, on account of this commodity, by merchants from Java, Malacca, China, and other places. When the two ships returned home, they left twenty of the crew, with money and goods, to buy nutmeg and mace, and with orders to be ready for going aboard any vessel that should first come from Holland.

WHILE the *Amsterdam* and the *Utrecht*, the only vessels of the fleet now remaining, were still at Amboina, it appeared how much the natives distrusted the Portuguese; for two joncks arrived from Java, filled with men, whom the inhabitants had called to their assistance, because the Portuguese had erected a fort which gave them much disturbance. The Flemings did not interfere in the quarrel, but bought some cloves, at the rate of thirty-five reals of Eight, for a barre weighing five hundred and fifty pounds. Unable to procure a sufficient quantity of cloves, the two vessels proceeded for the Moluccas, and cast anchor before the island of Ternate. Here they purchased cloves, paying for each barre, which weighed six hundred pounds, fifty-four reals of Eight. According to the report of the natives, the five Molucca islands were fruitful of this article *. The tree which bears it, and which grows only

* Ternate and Tidor, it was said, yielded a thousand barres each, in the year: Bassian two thousand; and Motier six or seven hundred.

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only in Amboina, and the Molucca islands, resembles the laurel, or bay, in its size and figure, with the leaves somewhat smaller, like those of the willow. Each tree has a number of small branches, and a prodigious quantity of flowers which afterwards grow into fruit. The flowers are, at first, of a white colour, afterwards turn green, and at last red and hard. When they are dry their colour becomes a dark brown, and when gathered, black. There is no occasion for planting any of these trees: The cloves which fall off take root in the ground; in eight years bear fruit; and generally last a hundred years. Ternate does not produce rice, or any other grain proper for bread, in place of which, the natives use the soft substance of a tree beat with wooden mallets. The same tree affords a juice which serves them for drink. The island is about eight leagues in circumference. The town where the King held his court was situated on the shore, and consisted of only one street, running along the side of the water. This Prince paid several visits to the Flemings, and behaved to them with much affability, though he assumed great state and pomp in the presence of his own subjects. He and his whole court were very attentive to the rites of the Mahometan religion. When an eclipse of the sun or moon is observed, the whole inhabitants are alarmed, imagining that it prognosticates the death of the King, of his principal officer, or of some near relation. When none of these events followed, they made a great feast, and a solemn procession, accompanied with every demonstration of joy. The Flemings attempted to remove these fears, by saying that they knew when there would be an eclipse, and could calculate the exact time when it would happen; but the natives did not believe this was possible. The five Molucca islands

islands and the five others adjoining, were all Book I.
 subject to the King of Ternate, except three, 1600.
 Tidor, Bassian, and Marigoran, which had submitted to the government of the Portuguese, who kept their principal force in Tidor. At the earnest desire of the King of Ternate, five of the Flemish sailors were left in that island, when the two vessels directed their course homewards. After calling at Java and Bantam, and getting an additional cargo of pepper, they safely arrived at home, in May 1600, having compleated their voyage in two years*.

THE expedition of five vessels under the conduct of James Mahu was not so successful. Soon after the Portuguese had discovered the Molucca Islands, and in the year 1520, Ferdinand Magalhães, or Magellan, who had been a long time in the East Indies, and served under Albuquerque, returned to Portugal. Not receiving the recompence he expected from King Emanuel, he left his Court in disgust, and repaired to that of the Emperor Charles V. to whom he represented, that according to the partition made by Pope Alexander VI. between the two Crowns of Castile and Portugal, these Islands, of which the Portuguese kept possession, were comprised within the territories assigned to the Castilians; and as they ought to be reckoned Western Islands, were, in fact, their property. He offered to prove this by the testimony of Serrano, who had made the discovery of the Moluccas for the Portuguese; and engaged, that if he was furnished with ships, properly equipped, he would find out another passage than the usual one by the Cape of Good Hope. A proposal so flattering,

Account of
 Mahu's
 voyage to
 the East
 Indies.

* Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi, &c. tome 2. p. 153—255. Pontani Historia Rerum Amstelodam, p. 191—200.

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 tering, and made by a man of acknowledged merit, was readily embraced, and five ships were given him for the prosecution of the voyage. He made first for the coast of Brasil; from thence he proceeded to Port St. Julian, where he wintered. When he again set sail, and had proceeded about thirty or fifty leagues farther, he came to a Cape, which he named St. Ursula, because, on that Saint's day, he discovered a strait which he thought communicated with the South Sea. Entering this strait, he found it two leagues broad, the shore deep, and covered with snow, though it was situated near the fifty-third degree, south latitude. After much fatigue and danger, he arrived at the other end, distant a hundred and thirty leagues from the place where he entered; and had the satisfaction of having his labour repaid, by getting, by this course, into the South Sea, as he had conjectured. The strait, ever since, was called Magellan, in honour of his having made the first discovery. He was farther, however, from the Molucca islands than he imagined; and he himself lost his life, by taking part in a quarrel between the Kings of Sebec and Matan, two islands which he visited in his voyage. Only two of his fleet got to the Moluccas, and one returned to Spain by the Cape of Good Hope; having thus sailed round the world in the space of very near three years*. Many attempts were afterwards made, both by the Spaniards and English, to pursue the same route, some of which failed†.

THE

* Maffei Historia Indica, lib. 8.

† Garcia de Louisa, in the year 1525; Drake, in 1578; Cavendish, in 1587; and, soon after, Davies and Hawkins accomplished the voyage.

THE Confederates ordered Mahu to pursue this course. He sailed with five vessels, the twenty-seventh of June 1598; but meeting with contrary winds, it was the end of August before they got to the Cape de Verde islands. When they had sailed along the coast of St. Jago, and doubled a point of that island, they cast anchor in the road of Praia, where they found a large vessel from Hamburgh, bound for Brasil, and two smaller, neither of which had any thing on board, the one being an old bark, that had been employed in transporting negroes, the other designed for carrying a bishop to St. Thomas. The Admiral, though he seized these barks, sent a message to the Commander of the fort, informing him, that he had no intention to commit hostilities; but that he only put into the island to procure water, and refreshment for his sick. The Commander returned for answer, that it was not possible to believe this declaration, after taking the two vessels; but that he could do nothing in the absence of the Governor of the island, who was then in the town of St. Jago, two leagues distant; and that he would immediately send notice of their arrival, and receive his orders. The Admiral, not thinking it prudent to delay, lest troops should come from St. Jago to defend the fort, sent Beuninghen, Captain of the *Faith*, with one hundred and fifty men, to take possession of it; which he executed without much resistance from the garrison, who abandoned it after firing nine or ten shot. Next day, Beuninghen, observing some Portuguese infantry and cavalry, demanded a reinforcement of men and ammunition. Weert, Captain of the *Joyous Message*, immediately brought sixty more to his assistance. But as it was not their design to come to extremities, nor to spend their time at this place, they very readily agreed to enter into conferences with the Portuguese upon the first signal

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signal of invitation given for this purpose. After mutual reproaches, it was agreed, that one of the Portuguese, accompanied by a messenger from the Flemish Admiral, should go to the Governor; inform him of what had happened; and, as quickly as possible, return with his answer. The Admiral wrote a letter, representing, that he was in need of water, and some other refreshments for his fleet, which had induced him to come to the island; that he had no intention to keep the two small barks, which finding entirely empty, he only detained as pledges; that, with the same view, he had taken the fort, and in hopes of procuring, by that means, what the Portuguese would not allow; that the barks, and every thing in the fort, should be restored, if the Governor gave a speedy and favourable answer; but, if otherwise, that he would be obliged to come to St. Jago, to obtain what had been refused. Next day, the Admiral's messenger returned with a letter from the Governor, containing expressions of surprise at their conduct; declaring, that he could not furnish them with any thing where they were at present; but inviting them to come to the town of St. Jago. That evening, some Portuguese came aboard, among whom was a priest, as a deputy from the Governor. They consented to every demand, on condition of the fleet appearing before St. Jago; because, as they said, there was no other method of procuring what they wanted. The fleet, therefore, left the road of Praia, with an intention to anchor, that evening, in the road opposite to the town. It was fortunate for them that they were disappointed in this design. A contrary wind proved the means of their preservation. The Portuguese had planted the cannon in such a manner as would have destroyed their vessels. But a storm prevented them either from keeping together or reaching the road.

Cordes,

Cordes, who acted as Vice Admiral, and Bockholt, Captain of the *Fidelity*, who were in company, not being able to make the road, dispatched a barge with twelve men armed, to inform the Governor that the fleet would go back to Praia, and would expect to be provided there with such things as they needed. When the crew of the barge landed, they found the inhabitants in arms, and batteries planted along the shore. It was too late to retire. They were taken prisoners, and carried into an adjoining house: But next day, they were dismissed, with a declaration, that, if the fleet should again appear, the most vigorous resistance would be made. Upon this information, the Admiral returned to the road of Praia, there to wait the arrival of the other vessels that had been separated from him by the storm; again took possession of the fort; and kept it, notwithstanding all the attempts of the Portuguese to recover it with superior numbers.

THE Admiral, considering that any longer stay might be attended with inconveniencies, as the air was unwholesome, and the sickness among his crew encreased, set sail the 9th of September; and, meeting with the two other ships, steered his course to the south-east. But a disease, under which he had laboured for some time past, carried him off on the night of the twenty-third of September. When upon this event, the letters of the Directors, appointing the order of succession, in case of the death of the Admiral, were opened, it appeared that Cordes, Captain of the *Love*, and who had hitherto acted as Vice Admiral, was named to the Chief Command; Beuninghen, Captain of the *Faith*, to be Vice Admiral; Sebalde de Weert, to be Captain of that vessel in his place; and Dirck

H

Gerritz-

CORDES having hoisted his flag, and the other officers taken their respective stations, the fleet bore away south-south-west, till the fourth of October, when they changed their course to west-south-west, and afterwards to east-south-east. During all this time, the crew was greatly afflicted with the scurvy. Aboard the Admiral, there was scarcely a sufficient number of healthy men to manage the ship; aboard the others, thirty, forty, and even sixty men were sick. This circumstance, with the want of water, which they felt very severely, induced them to anchor, about the beginning of November, on the coast of Manicongo, in three degrees of south latitude. Here they lost the small vessel destined for carrying the Bishop of St. Thomas, which they had taken in the road of Praia, and which had eleven healthy men on board. Some thought that they had deserted; others suspected that they had perished at sea; but they afterwards learned, that having been long tossed about, the crew had touched at the Cape of Lopez Gonsalves, abandoned their vessel, and gone aboard Mucheron's ship for America. No road could be found where the fleet could anchor with safety, till, on the ninth November, it arrived on the coast of Guinea, where the Admiral ordered all the sick to be put ashore, and sent Beuninghen with some presents, to the King of the country, in hopes of getting some fresh provisions in return. But he brought nothing back, except a fowl, and some fruit of the banana. The Pilot of Gerritz's vessel was a Frenchman, who had been long in that country, and understood a little of the language of the natives. He engaged to procure them every thing they wanted, if an embassy was sent to the King.

King. The Admiral, accordingly, at his request, dispatched Weert along with this Frenchman. They were admitted into the presence of the Prince, and received with great appearance of solemnity. The King was seated on a very low chair, about a foot high, with a sheep's skin spread under his feet, and having on a kind of robe of red cloth, but without a shirt, shoes, or stockings. He wore on his head a bonnet of different colours, and had powdered his face with ashes to make it appear white. A string of glass beads hung at his neck. Some of the courtiers were seated around him. Weert sat down on another stool which was placed near the King's; and, by means of the Frenchman as an interpreter, explained the design of this visit. The King expressed his satisfaction with the arrival of the Flemings, and promised to supply them with whatever the country afforded. After some conversation, the King conducted Weert to what he called his palace, though it was no better than a stable; and gave him a kid and some bananas, in exchange for some pieces of cloth, and iron. Weert entertained his Majesty with the music of trumpets, and other instruments that his attendants had carried along with them, with which he seemed much surprized and pleased. After waiting some time, the King's wives brought, on wooden plates, roasted bananas, and smoaked fish. The Captain, not accustomed to such dishes, ate very sparingly, though much pressed by the King. He observed that the King himself did not discover a keen appetite; a circumstance which he did not expect, because he was robust in his person, and plump and healthy as if he had lived in great abundance. Weert, who had not tasted victuals for a day and a half before, informed his Majesty, that he wished him to partake of such provisions as he had brought ashore. He agreed, and accordingly there were served up some bread, smoaked

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flesh, cheese, and a flask of Spanish wine. The King ate and drank so plentifully, that he was obliged to retire to his bed. During the time that the Prince was thus refreshing himself after his debauch, the Captain walked into the town, which consisted of about two hundred houses; and, on the evening, when he found that his Majesty did not make his appearance, proposed to return to the ship. But a great body of negroes, armed with their bows and arrows, occupied the road, and would not allow him to pass. He enquired the reason, and was told, that his attendants had committed some violence in one of the houses. Weert demanded that they would point out the guilty persons, and they should be immediately punished. As this, however, was nothing else but a pretence of the natives to conceal their apprehensions of the Flemings, who, they imagined, intended to carry off the King and some of their people in the night, the Captain went directly back to the palace. The noise having awakened the Prince, and Weert having informed him of what had happened, the Prince desired him to lodge in the palace all night. Weert consented, on condition that he might be allowed to keep ten or twelve of his men with him, and send the rest to the ship. But the negroes, afraid of trusting him so near the person of their Prince, conducted him to another house, and placed a party of their own number round it as a guard. In the morning, when the Captain came to the door, with a design to repair to the palace, he was accosted by an old woman, who had in her hand a box covered with leather. She walked three times round him, and striking upon the box, sprinkled him with ashes, or a kind of powder, blown out of the box, which, in this respect, resembled a pair of bellows. While thus employed, she muttered some words, and the negroes, who formed

formed a circle about him, laughed immoderately. After this ceremony, the meaning of which he could not understand, they brought him some bananas, two goats, and three or four fowls. Weert, perceiving that these people valued nothing but what served for food, and consequently would accept of no commodities in the way of trade, took his leave of the Prince, and returned aboard his ship. Some of his crew, who had gone into the woods, killed a wild boar, two wild oxen, and a few birds, which were distributed among the sick. While the sick were ashore, some recovered their health; but others fell bad, and sixteen died.

THE Admiral, resolved to leave so unfavourable a climate, set sail, ninth Decemher, towards the Island of Annebon. The fleet anchored there on the sixteenth of that month. Dirk Gerritz, with two of the boats, was ordered to go ashore. When he came near, he saw a number of Portuguese and negroes ready to oppose his landing. Upon calling to them, that he had no hostile intention, and telling them that he wanted provisions, for which he was willing to pay, they answered, that he should have whatever he needed, but desired he would wait till next day, that they might inform the Governor. When he returned next morning, a number of persons, armed with musquets, were ranged on the shore; and the Captain was informed, that if he attempted to land, he would be treated as an enemy and invader. Notwithstanding these threatenings, the Admiral ordered all the boats to be manned, and to put ashore. The Portuguese negroes did not think proper to make any opposition, but set fire to their huts; abandoned the fort; and fled to the mountains. The sick were immediately landed, and the sailors, eager to get bananas, and

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and oranges, which grew in the Island, were so imprudent, in endeavouring to procure so delicious a repast in their present situation, that while they wandered at a distance from one another, some of them were killed every day. The danger of these excursions, and the repeated orders of the Admiral, were scarce sufficient to restrain such an irregularity. A party, dispatched with a design to take prisoners, brought to the camp twenty-seven horned cattle, a sight which gave still more joy than if they had succeeded in their intentions. Another party of a hundred and fifty men, ordered to advance into the country, found the Portuguese entrenched upon a hill, whom, notwithstanding, they put to flight. Here there was a fort, in which they got a barrel of biscuit, two cheeses, and some flasks of Spanish wine. They saw likewise two houses filled with cotton, which they set on fire, and afterwards returned to the camp.

Straits of
Magellan.

THE air was so unwholesome in this Island, that the sickness daily encreased. The fleet, therefore, again set sail, with a resolution of steering directly for the Straits of Magellan, without making any further stop by the way. Leaving Annebon in the beginning of the year 1599, they passed the Banks, or Rocks of Brasil, which the Portuguese call Abrolhos; and, by the beginning of April, entered the Straits. During this course, the crew gradually recovered; but the passage through the Straits was very tedious and difficult. Detained by contrary winds in a bay, called the *Green Bay*, until the end of August, they suffered innumerable hardships. They were constantly attacked by tempests so violent that the vessels could scarce keep to their anchors, while some were obliged to go ashore every day, in the midst of snow, and a severe frost, to procure wood and water, and such provisions

provisions as could be got. Their stock was now so much reduced, that they ate very greedily, of the shell-fish raw, and without any dressing, and even of the roots of herbs. A great many of the crew wanted clothes, not having provided themselves sufficiently when they set out, from an opinion that they were going into a warm country where they would be less necessary. To supply this defect, the inconveniency of which they now felt, the Admiral opened some chests, and distributed among them pieces of cloth. They met frequently with canoes of savages, of a reddish colour, and with long hair, who generally run ashore upon their advancing; attacked such of the sailors as followed them; and sometimes killed several by throwing stones. On one occasion, they assaulted a straggling party; killed three, and wounded two others very dangerously. They immediately devoured the dead bodies; and the wounded would probably have shared the same fate, if they had not been carried off by their companions. All of these savages were entirely naked, except one of them, who had a skin of a sea-dog wrapped round his neck and shoulders. Their arms were a bow, and arrows barbed like a harpoon at the point, which they threw with great force, and when entered into the body, could not be taken out again without the utmost pain. The hardships which the crew suffered, and the loss of twenty-six men, made them call the bay, where they had been confined for five months, the Bay of Cordes, in memory of the Admiral who commanded the fleet. Quitting this disagreeable station, they set out with a north-east wind; but next day were overtaken by a calm, and obliged to anchor in another bay towards the south. To perpetuate the remembrance of a voyage so dangerous, the Admiral instituted a Fraternity, or Order of Knights,

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Knights, into which were admitted all the principal officers. They engaged by a solemn oath never to consent to any thing contrary to their honour, or to what might be prejudicial to their country, or the voyage they had undertaken, whatever difficulties they might meet with; but cheerfully to expose their lives against the enemies of their nation, and use their utmost efforts to render the Flemish arms victorious over the subjects of the King of Spain, in these countries from which he drew the treasure that he employed in carrying on the war against the Netherlands. The ceremony of initiation was performed on the shore, on the east side of the Strait; the Order was called, *The Order of the Lion unchained*; and the Bay, *The Bay of the Knights*; and their names were written on a table, which was set on a high pillar. Proceeding farther, they entered another bay, at about half a league's distance, where they were again becalmed. As this was reckoned a more proper place for erecting the monument of their voyage, Weert was sent to bring it away. But observing above eighty savages on the shore, he returned, and applied to the Admiral for a greater force. Three boats were armed, and, upon their approach, the savages fled. They had, however, not only destroyed the table with the names of the officers, but had taken up the bodies of the Flemings buried there, and disfigured them in a very shocking manner.

On the third of September, the whole fleet got clear of the Straits, entered the Great South Sea with a favourable wind, and bore west-by-north-west. In a few days after, the weather changed, and all the vessels were obliged to back their sails, on account of a prodigious swelling of the ocean. They remained for some time in this situation; but,

but, by the middle of the month, they were separated from each other, owing, it is supposed, to the Vice-Admiral again making sail in the night, without giving a signal, or, at least, without giving such as was observed or understood by the *Faith* and the *Fidelity*, who still continued in their former station. Weert and Balthazar de Cordes, who commanded these two vessels, were very much astonished and distressed, when they could not perceive their companions in the morning. On the 16th, a north-east wind caused a terrible tempest, which put them both in the greatest danger. For twenty-four days they were tossed in this wide ocean, and never afterwards got any accounts of the other ships. The sailors, too, began to murmur, and with the utmost difficulty, could be kept to their duty. By the end of the month, they were driven back to within three leagues of the mouth of the Straits; and, a strong wind, rising from the west, put it out of their power to keep to sea. They therefore formed a resolution to again enter the Straits; and, endeavour to find some safe road, where they might wait more favourable weather, and in hopes of following the rest of the fleet, which might probably stop, as they thought, at St. Mary's Isle, in expectation of their coming. Carried by the currents about seven leagues within the Straits, they anchored in a good bay; and, for some time, the weather was so agreeable, that they imagined they would soon be able to pursue their voyage. They were disappointed, and detained for twenty days. Their situation was very disagreeable, because they were obliged to go constantly on shore, to procure such provisions as could be got, which, except a few birds, were nothing else but shell-fish that they found among the rocks. As soon as the weather permitted, they endeavoured to advance;

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advance; but had made little way, when they were attacked with storms, which threatened to dash them in pieces on the sides of the narrow channel. During these horrible tempests, it was impossible for the two vessels to keep in company, or give one another any assistance.

THE eleventh December, Weert was left alone, and from that day never saw nor heard of Cordes and his crew §. To add to this misfortune, his men began to lose their courage, and almost despaired of ever being able to get out of the Straits. One day, three canoes came in sight; but the savages no sooner perceived Weert's vessel, than they leaped ashore. Some of his crew followed, to observe if they had any thing concealed. At the foot of a mountain they saw a woman running off with two children. She was soon overtaken, and conducted to the ship. Her stature was middling; her air wild and fierce; her colour reddish; and her hair was cut close by her ears. Shells of snails were hung by way of ornament round her neck. The skin of a sea-dog covered her shoulders, and was fixed with small twigs below her chin. The rest of her body was naked. Her mouth was large, and her legs crooked. One of her children was a girl about four years of age, and the other a boy, who, though only about six months old, had teeth, and could walk. She and her children ate the flesh of the

§ They took their route for Japan, where they arrived in April 1600, but reduced in number to twenty-one. The ship was plundered, and the crew ordered by the Emperor to remain in the country. They were allowed two pounds of rice a-day, and between eleven and twelve duckets a-year each. This account is contained in two letters written by William Adams, who was pilot aboard the vessel, and which are inserted in Purchas's Pilgrims, Part I. Book 3. chap. 1. sect. 5.

the birds which the Flemings presented to them, with great greediness, and almost raw. Weert kept her aboard two days, and then dismissed her, with a present of a robe with two sleeves, and which reached to her knees, a cap for her head, some pieces of glass for ornaments to her neck, a small mirror, a knife, and some other trifles. He likewise dressed the youngest child in a green gown, with pieces of glass. He detained the eldest, with a design to carry her home with him; and the mother parted with her with some appearance of reluctance.

As the storm did not abate, Weert relinquished all hopes of penetrating any farther; and steered his course backwards towards the Bay of Cordes, which was nearly in the middle of the Straits. He arrived there on the 15th December. Next day, he observed a boat making towards his vessel. Some of the crew imagined, that it belonged to one of the vessels of their own company which had returned to the Straits; and others, an English ship. Though each of these conjectures gave great joy, yet they were still more agreeably surprised to find that it belonged to their countryman, Oliver Noort, who, with two ships, had undertaken to sail round the world by the same course which they had attempted. Noort himself came up next day; and the crew of the *Faith*, having, by such an unexpected meeting, recovered their spirits, agreed to accompany him in his voyage. They accordingly set sail; but, after repeated efforts to double the Point of the Bay, and to follow Noort's fleet, they were obliged to desist.

It now appeared vain to make any farther attempts. They therefore determined to steer directly homewards. They got clear of the Straits, after
having

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having passed nine months in the utmost danger; and, on the 24th of January 1600, discovered three small islands, not marked in the charts, bearing about sixty leagues from the continent, and in the latitude of fifty degrees, forty minutes, which they called, in honour of the captain, *The Isles of Sebald*. They arrived at home the thirteenth July, the crew consisting of thirty-six men, the only remains of the whole fleet*.

Return of
two Zealand
vessels.

Two vessels fitted out by some merchants in Zealand, and which had sailed from Flushing in March 1598, likewise returned about this time. The one was of four hundred tons, and had a hundred and twenty-three men on board; the other of two hundred and fifty tons, and carried a hundred men. Both were put under the command of Cornelius Houtman. They doubled the Cape of Good Hope, in the end of November: After touching at Madagascar, came, in June 1599, to the coast of Sumatra; and, on the twenty-first of that month, anchored in the Bay of Achin. Houtman went ashore, was kindly received by the king, and got from him a boat load of pepper. Here he found a Portuguese named Alfonso Vincent, who had come from Malacca with four Barks. In the conversation Houtman had with the King, his Majesty enquired, If he came from England? and, upon being answered, That he was from Flanders, said, That he had heard of England, but never of Flanders; informed him, That Vincent wished he might be betrayed: but assured him that he would not consent, and would be always friendly to the Flemings.

* Purchas's Pilgrims, Part I. Book 2. chap. 5. p. 78 and 79. Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi, &c. Tom. 2. p. 256.—340. Reidani Annales, lib. 17. p. 529, &c. Arthus Historia Indiæ, Cap. 8, 42, 43, 44, 47.

ings. The King gave Houtman a purse of gold ; begged his assistance against the King of Johor, with whom he was at war ; and promised, in return, a lading of pepper. A few days after, the two ships were surrounded by a great number of gallies and proas, well manned. The Indians came aboard, and brought refreshments and provisions ; but suddenly attacked the Flemings, and killed Houtman and many of his crew. The like treachery was committed aboard the other vessel ; and, with great difficulty, the Indians were at last repulsed. The Flemings lost sixty-eight of their number, either killed or taken prisoners, two pinnaces of twenty tons each, their boat, and all the money and merchandize they had put ashore. But they had got aboard a hundred and forty tons of pepper. They next went to Pulo Lotum, in 6 deg. 50 min. where they took in fresh water, and afterwards returned to Achin, in hopes of being able to recover some of their men. As ten gallies were ready to oppose them, if they should advance, they pursued their route, intending to steer for Ceylon. But, meeting with contrary winds, they set sail homewards, passed the Cape of Good Hope in March 1600, and arrived in Zealand the twenty-third July *.

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* A briefe Relation of Master John Davis, chiefe Pilot, inserted in Purchas's Pilgrims, Part I. book 3. chap, 1. sect. 4.

The King gave a present of a pair of gold
 shoes to the King of the
 of which he was in want, and presented
 to him a pair of shoes. A few days after
 the two ships were surrounded by a great
 number of gallees and galleons, with
 The Indians came aboard and brought
 provisions and provisions, but nothing
 of the Flemings, and killed them and
 of his crew. The like treatment was
 meted out to the other vessels, and with
 difficulty the Indians were at last repulsed.
 The Flemings lost sixty-eight of their number,
 that killed or taken prisoner, two of them
 of twenty tons each, their boat, and all the
 men and merchandise they had on board.
 they had not aboard a hundred and forty tons
 of goods. They next went to the island
 of St. Vincent, where they took in fresh water,
 and afterwards returned to St. Vincent, in hopes of
 being able to recover some of their men, but the
 gallees were ready to oppose them, if they should
 advance, they pursued them, intending to
 force them to St. Vincent, but meeting with contrary
 winds, they did not venture to go, and returned
 of good things in great abundance, and arrived in
 Zealand the next day.

A small portion of the Dutch fleet
 sailed in the night, and took a small

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
UNITED PROVINCES
OF THE
NETHERLANDS.

BOOK II.

ARCH DUKE ALBERT, much affected with the losses which he had sustained, and desirous of recommending himself to the people, in the beginning of his newly acquired sovereignty, assembled the General Estates of the Provinces that acknowledged his jurisdiction. But the transactions of this meeting were not very agreeable to any of the parties. Albert represented to the States the disordered situation of his affairs, and that nothing would give him greater pleasure than their suggesting such measures as would restore military discipline, and ease the country of the burdens under which it laboured. He told them, that as peace could not be obtained, the war must be prosecuted with vigour; and that though the King of Spain was willing to assist him with two hundred

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Meeting of
the States of
the Provin-
ces subject
to Albert.

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hundred and fifty thousand ducats a-month, it was necessary the Provinces should contribute liberally, that he might be able to support his dignity and Government. But the States placed little dependence on the promise of money from Spain. They knew that the late King had at no time sent above three hundred thousand ducats a month for the war in the Netherlands; and, therefore, it was not probable that the son would do almost as much for his relation, as his father had ever done in his own proper cause. They enquired what would be the expence of the war; and complained, that he suspected the Flemings unjustly; that foreigners were preferred to the government of forts, and the best offices; that, by the deed transferring the Netherlands to him, liberty in matters of religion was restrained; that the trade to the Indies was prohibited; and that the Arch Duke himself was nothing more than a vassal of Spain. Artois and Henault openly refused to comply with his demands. Brabant and Flanders insisted, that the freedom of commerce should be restored; and though all of them condemned the licentiousness of the soldiers, they attributed the mutiny and disorders which prevailed, to the inattention and bad conduct of the Prince. But what they most strenuously insisted upon was, that an attempt should be made to procure an agreement with the Confederates. They were tired of the war; foresaw that great sums would be demanded for carrying it on; and suspected, that the money they contributed would not be properly applied. Albert asked five hundred thousand ducats to pacify the mutineers, and as much as would be sufficient to maintain, besides the ordinary garrisons, ten thousand foot, who should all be natives of the Provinces; thirty thousand florins a-month for the expences of the Admiralty; three hundred thousand florins a-year
for

for fortifications, and until his revenues were free of debt; and two hundred and fifty thousand ducats for the support of his household. But so diffident were the States of any promises made them, either by Philip or the Arch Duke, that they required the two hundred and fifty thousand ducats, promised by Philip, should be employed in such manner as was most for the advantage of the Provinces; proposed to send a person to Spain, to beg that this money should be paid for the year 1601; and said, that they would examine every month whether it was regularly remitted, and how far the Arch Duke faithfully discharged his trust. Other circumstances concurred to render them the more cautious, and attentive to the application of their revenues. The United Provinces had made prodigious preparations; their army was now in the field; and, before any resolution was formed by this Assembly, had gained some unexpected advantages.

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MAURICE, after taking Fort St. Andrew, put his troops into garrison to refresh them; and went himself to the Hague, to consult with the General Estates concerning the future operations. The opportunity seemed favourable for pursuing their late victories while the Spanish army was so mutinous. The Deputies of Holland declared, that as the expences already incurred this year had almost exhausted their finances, and as the other provinces had not contributed, it was not to be expected that they could do much in any new attempts. They proposed, however, to exert themselves to the utmost, if the war should be carried into Flanders, and the siege of Dunkirk undertaken. They offered to furnish three thousand citizens, to be put into garrisons, in order that the greater number of troops might take the field.

Deliberations of the
United Provinces.

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What chiefly induced them to adopt such a plan was the mischief done by the Dunkirk privateers, which hurt the public funds, exclusive of the losses sustained by private merchants, to the extent of one million of florins yearly. One thousand more men were offered by Zealand, which was particularly eager for this plan. Wishing to have the Spaniards removed from their neighbourhood, and to be free from the ravages which they committed upon the coast, the deputies of that Province represented, that, by the acquisition of the Forts St. Andrew and Crevecœur, and by Bommel being secured, Holland and Gueldres were now in no danger; and that the war might be prosecuted with success in Flanders, where the enemy might be deprived of the maritime towns. Though all agreed that an expedition of this kind would necessarily be attended with considerable difficulties, yet it was generally thought that it should be attempted; and that Dunkirk, which was but weakly fortified, might be taken, before Albert could pacify the mutineers. Even Nieuport, it was said, might be first gained; and a way being thus opened to Ostend, the design against Dunkirk would be greatly facilitated. Some, however, and particularly William of Nassau, condemned this project, and considered it as proceeding more from the despair of the two Provinces of Holland and Zealand, than from sound judgment. There could be very little hopes of taking Dunkirk before the Spanish forces could arrive; besides the uncertainty of the weather, and the danger of storms, Albert would have time enough to secure it before the army could be landed from the ships; the mutineers would either be gained over by promises, be willing to atone for former faults by a ready obedience, or be induced to return to their duty, from the expectation of procuring their pay, if successful

successful in Flanders, which had not yet suffered much by the war. Albert was stronger, in fact, than the Confederates; and, by having the command of the rivers, and the towns on his side, might cut off provisions from the States army, and render their horse useless. If, to shun these dangers, Nieuport should be first besieged, the enemy would have leisure to repair the fortifications of Dunkirk. Even upon the supposition, that Nieuport was gained, it would require an army to defend it; as Albert, by placing troops in the neighbouring towns, could prevent all excursions, and put it out of their power to ravage the country, or procure any plunder. William, therefore, advised the siege of Sluys. It could be more easily taken and kept; there would be no occasion for horse, which, in the mean time might scour Brabant; Zealand would be equally well protected; Flanders might become the seat of the war; and Albert be forced to waste the very country from whence he drew his chief support.

THE General Estates, notwithstanding these reasons, resolved on the expedition against Nieuport and Dunkirk. Maurice ordered all the maritime towns of Holland, Zealand, and Friseland, to furnish vessels for transporting his army, and appointed them to assemble at Dort. Accordingly, nine hundred ships were collected, on board of which were put one hundred and twenty-seven companies of foot, and twenty-five troops of horse, making in all twelve thousand foot, and two thousand horse*; with two hundred carts, fifty cannon, one hundred horse for drawing carriages, and a sufficient quantity of ammunition and provisions. There were likewise prepared a great number of

I 2

transports,

Resolve to
make an ex-
pedition
into Flan-
ders.

June 21.

* 15,000 foot and 2500 horse, according to Miniana, p. 414.

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transports, with flat bottoms, for landing the troops and some other vessels, which were ordered to be stationed in Zealand, as a supply, in case of an accident happening to the fleet *. Hohenlo, with three thousand foot and eight troops of horse, was appointed to keep guard near Heusden, that the Frontiers might not be wholly exposed. Some of the Deputies of the States went aboard the fleet, to give their advice, as circumstances should occur; and public prayers were offered for the Divine blessing.

THE first design was to sail directly for Ostend, which, though belonging to the Confederates, was, at this time, in a manner besieged by seven forts built round it by the enemy. But the wind continued so long contrary, that Maurice, afraid of Albert coming up, landed his troops, and four cannon, at Philippina, a fort between Sas and Isendick, with a view to march from that place to Ostend by land, while the rest of the cannon and the baggage might follow by sea. Accordingly, he sailed from Rammekins about day-break; and arriving at the fort, after mid-day, landed his troops. The garrison immediately surrendered. Next day, the troops were ordered to carry along with them six days provisions, and advanced to Fort Assen, which likewise yielded without making any resistance. The Prince published a proclamation, informing the inhabitants of Flanders, that he had come with no other intention but to set them free from the tyranny of the Spaniards, and assuring them, that they should neither be molested nor plundered, on condition they would contribute in proportion with the other Provinces. To

* Petit says, that this fleet consisted, in all, of 2800 vessels of different sizes.

To convince them of his sincerity, he preserved the strictest discipline, and severely punished such of his soldiers as were guilty of any acts of licentiousness. But the country people, who exercised great cruelties on any of them they seized, conscious of their inhumanity, and dreading the vengeance which they deserved, fled away when Maurice moved from Assen towards Eckloo, Maurice ordered their houses to be burnt, and the lands to be ravaged. Being now entered the enemy's country, he dismissed the vessels that had accompanied him, but kept the provisions and warlike stores *.

WHEN the wind became favourable, forty vessels, with stores, which had been detained at Rammekins, set sail for Ostend, under the convoy of three men of war. They were attacked by some ships from Sluys, which took eighteen of them, and got safe off with their booty. The Spaniards burnt four, and set the rest a-drift. In this encounter, Blanckart, Captain of one of the men of war, exhibited a surprizing proof of courage. He was assaulted by several of the Spanish gallies at once; and, on account of a calm, could not get any assistance. He was boarded three several times by the Spaniards, but always refused to yield. When he had lost twenty-two of the fifty men of whom his crew consisted; and when he himself, and almost all the rest were wounded, his masts broke, and his ship pierced through in several places, he declared to the Spanish Captain, that, rather than surrender, he would set fire to his powder, and actually gave orders for this purpose. Such a desperate resolution so intimidated the Spaniards, that they left him with great precipitation. He

* Grotius, p. 387, &c. Bentivoglio. Reidan, lib. 17. Petit, p. 762. &c. Pise, p. 679—681.

BOOK II. He brought his vessel in a very shattered condition
 1600. into Flushing, where he died of his wounds, and was interred with all the honours due to his merit.

Maurice be-
 sieges Nieu-
 port.

MAURICE divided his foot into three bodies, commanded by Count Solms, Ernest of Nassau, and Vere; and the horse into seven detachments, the chief command of which was conferred on Lewis of Nassau. He stopped at Bruges; and letters were sent to the inhabitants of that place, and of Ghent, in the name of the General Estates, inviting them to join against the Spaniards, and furnish money for carrying on so just a war against a common enemy. But so far were they from producing any effect, that Bruges, for the first time, received a garrison from Albert, which endeavoured to harass Maurice on his march. Maurice, being informed that the Spaniards had abandoned several forts, took possession of them, and left a small garrison in each, to observe the enemy's motions. Solms was ordered to go before, with a third part of the army, to Ostend. The Count took along with him the States Deputies, whom he lodged safely in the town, and immediately laid siege to a fort built by the Spaniards, and called Albert, in honour of the Arch Duke. The garrison yielded without much opposition; and Solms, not chusing to spend time by attacking the other forts, proceeded to Nieuport, where he was soon after joined by Maurice with the rest of the troops.

Proceedings
 of Albert.

SCARCELY was the siege begun when the Spanish army was in motion. Albert's first care, upon receiving intelligence of the Prince's march, was to pacify the mutineers. Both he and Isabella went to Ghent, that, by being nearer at hand, they might preserve that and the other towns of the Province in their obedience. The messengers sent to the mutineers were treated with contempt at first; but

but at last, partly by threats, and partly by promises, considerable numbers returned to their duty. Isabella, mounted on horseback, presented herself before them; after accusing their conduct as the cause of the Confederates boldness in making an irruption into Flanders, besought them, in the warmest manner, not to sully the reputation of the Arch Duke, or the ancient glory of their country; and engaged, that they should get all their pay either from Spain, or from the Provinces; or, if money sufficient could not be procured from these quarters, that she would sell her own jewels, to remove every ground of complaint. Her princely appearance, and the air of sincerity which she assumed, had considerable effect. Though the mutineers at Henault were not yet disposed to confide in these assurances, the troops at Diest joined the army with eight hundred foot and six hundred horse, on condition, however, that the officer whom they had chosen for themselves should still have the command of them, and that after the campaign should be ended, they might be allowed to return to their former stations until they got all their pay. Though it must have been very disagreeable to Albert to hear his troops prescribe the terms on which they would obey, he was willing to submit at present, that he might collect as much force as possible, in order to drive the enemy from the best province under his government. When his army was mustered, it amounted to twelve thousand foot, and one thousand two hundred horse*. The garrison

* This is Bentivoglio's and Miniana's account, who make his army more numerous than some other writers. Reidan says, it consisted of 11,000 foot, and 1500 horse; and Grotius, of 10,000 foot, and 1600 horse. Camden allows no more than 7000 foot and 1000 horse. Haræus says, that both armies were nearly equal; but Petit makes Albert's amount to 12,000 foot, and 1600 horse.

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garrison in the forts lately taken, soon surrendered; and the soldiers, in one of them, having made some resistance, they were all, being two companies, put to the sword, contrary to the terms of the capitulation. Albert laid the blame of this cruel action upon the seditious troops. But it is uncertain whether this apology was only a pretence to wipe off the disgrace of such inhumanity, or if the mutineers really hoped, by such a conduct, to regain their credit.

Ernest defeated.
July 2.

NEVER were the Confederates in greater danger, and never was Maurice more perplexed what course to pursue. The States army was now in the midst of the enemy's country. It was too late to fortify their camp, and it would even be unnecessary in a place where they could not remain for want of provisions. Maurice received, in the night-time, the news of Albert's coming. He sat up all that night, revolving in his mind what was to be done. After the most serious reflection, he thought it expedient to call in his out-posts, and to march in the morning against the enemy. He dispatched Ernest of Nassau with ten companies of foot, mostly Scots, and Vander Noot with as many Zealanders*, four troops of horse, and two cannon, to secure a bridge betwixt Oudenburg and Nieuport, and thus to deprive the enemy of the only access which they had, or, at least, to dispute with them this passage until the whole army should advance. Ernest, at day-break, saw the Spaniards advancing; and immediately sent the four troops to cut down the bridge. But they were too late; part of the Spaniards had passed it before they could arrive. Ernest, though he had no hopes of forcing them to quit that station, drew up his little army in order of battle, that he might not appear wanting

* Consisting of 2000 foot. Miniana, p. 414.

wanting in his duty, and that he might protract the time until Maurice could come to his assistance. Both engaged closely, and Ernest supported the assault of the Spaniards with great resolution. But, overpowered by numbers, he was obliged to give way. Eight hundred of his men were either killed on the spot, or taken prisoners. The horse for the most part escaped. Hohenlo, who had been left to guard the frontiers, advanced with all dispatch; but before he reached the field of battle, the engagement was ended, and Ernest's troops dispersed. Ernest, finding that he could not return back to Maurice, got to Ostend. Here he met the Deputies of the States, much dejected with this defeat. As they had imagined that Albert could not have appeared for several weeks, their former confidence was changed into fear and despair. They now sincerely repented of their pressing so earnestly this expedition; and, as the only resource left, appointed Uytenbogard, a learned minister, to offer up prayers to God for assistance.

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THE Arch Duke proposed to attack Maurice immediately. Some of his officers advised him first to secure the Fort Albert, and encamp there, as in a place where he would not only be exposed to no danger, but might easily harass the Confederates, and reduce them to the greatest straits. They thought it imprudent to attempt dislodging Maurice before they were well informed of the strength of his army; and that by delaying a little, he would be forced to remove, which he could not now do without much hazard; for, if he retreated by land, he could go no where else but to Ostend, where he might be blocked up; or if he retired by sea, an opportunity would be afforded for attacking him with advantage when embarking

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ing his troops. Others, more sanguine in their expectations, were of opinion, that Maurice would be in confusion with the unexpected arrival of so powerful an army, the loss of the forts, and the defeat of Ernest; and that it would be improper to allow the ardour of the soldiers to cool, or to check, by any farther delays, the eagerness which the mutineers, particularly, discovered for an engagement. The mutineers were so keen, that being in the van of the army, they had passed by Fort Albert, before any resolution was formed*. Another circumstance contributed to determine Albert to make an immediate assault. Maurice, sensible that he could not now even retreat with safety, ordered the ships to sail to Ostend, that, in case he should be attacked, his troops might fight with the more firmness, when, by this means, all hopes of escaping by flight were taken away. The Spaniards, as they marched along the shore, observed the vessels moving from Nieuport; and, thinking that Maurice intended to embark his men, advanced with great speed to prevent their getting aboard.

Prepara-
tions for a
general en-
gagement.

MAURICE, on the other hand, carefully concealed Ernest's disaster; and resolving to encounter the Spaniards in the open field, sent Lewis of Nassau, with five troops of horse, to cross the harbour while the water was low; which they accordingly did, partly over the shallows, and partly by swimming. A slight skirmish which Lewis had with the enemy, whom he imagined, when at a distance, to have been the troops of his brother Ernest,

* The whole army was so certain of victory, that, it is said, both officers and soldiers solemnly swore, they would not leave any of the Confederates alive, except Maurice and his brother, whom they would reserve to grace their triumph. Petit and Grotius.

Ernest, gave time for Maurice to follow him with the rest of the army. It was immediately drawn up in order of battle. In the front, was placed Sir Francis Vere, with the English and Friselanders; in the middle were the French, some Swiss, and a few fresh troops from Fort St. Andrew, commanded by Count Solms; and in the rear, the troops of Holland, and such Germans as had escaped, commanded by Vichtembrouc. Along with each party were some troops of horse. A few companies of foot were left before Nieuport, to prevent the garrison from making a sally. Some thought that they should march forward, meet the enemy, and thus show that they were not afraid of an engagement. But Maurice, supported in his opinion by Vere, resolved to continue in his present station, because the place was as convenient as could be wished, they could not advance any farther in proper order, and the enemy, if determined to make the attack, would be fatigued with travelling over the sand. Albert divided his foot into four bodies. In the front, next the sea, were placed the Lances, ready for any emergency; behind, on the left, was the first line, consisting of two Spanish regiments; on the right, were Spaniards and Italians; and between these two, was an open space, into which the Lances could be received. Behind, was the second line, with the Irish posted on the wings. Some Germans and Flemings were stationed between the forts of Oudenberg and Albert, to guard the baggage.

For four hours both armies stood opposite to each other. Maurice did not fail to represent to his troops the necessity of acting with spirit and bravery; and that now they must either conquer or die, as he had purposely deprived them of all means of escaping, if they should be so base as to think

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think of flight. He would have sent away his brother Henry Frederick, then between sixteen and seventeen years of age, aboard one of the ships. But the young Prince would not consent; and besought him with so much earnestness, and with tears in his eyes, not to put such an affront upon him, or to suppose him capable of being afraid of danger, that Maurice allowed him to remain with the army, where he discovered such marks of courage as led his countrymen to entertain the highest expectations from his future conduct. Some of Albert's Generals proposed that the troops should be refreshed, as the Confederates could not now possibly retreat. But such was the eagerness of the soldiers, and so much were they elated with their victory over Ernest in the morning, that they called to be led on, as certain of success. Albert, judging it impossible to restrain their ardour, reminded them, that they had it in their power to put an end to the war, by an easy contest with the remains of an army, part of which they had already defeated.

Battle of
Nieuport or
the Downs.

THE Ocean now began to flow, and forced both armies among the hills of sand lying along the coast, and called the *Downs*. The sun was declining, and shone bright in the eyes of the Spaniards, while the wind raised the sand, and drove it directly in their faces. Maurice occupied the higher ground, on which he had placed his artillery. Lewis of Nassau, without waiting for orders, assaulted a party of the enemy's spearmen with such fury, that some of them retired into the lines, and others fled precipitately to the very walls of Nieuport. This encouraged the Confederates to bear with greater firmness the first assault, which a detachment of the Spaniards made upon the station occupied by Vere. That brave General soon obliged them to return back to the main army. Others succeeded,

ceeded, and the engagement, as it became more close, grew more fierce and bloody. The veteran Spanish troops boasted they would be so terrible to the Confederates, that they would not dare to encounter them in the open field; and, therefore, rushed on boldly, regardless of danger. Necessity, on the other hand, joined with the confidence which they placed in their General, animated the Confederates. Maurice ordered Lewis, with nine troops, to attack the enemy's horse; but, instead of being able to make any impression, the Spanish horse rushed upon him, and the foot, at the same time, gave such a heavy fire, that it was necessary to consult his safety by flight. So great was the confusion among his troops, that many of them embraced certain death, by running into the water. The Confederates were much dejected with this disappointment; and the consequences might have been fatal had not Maurice himself led on some of his men into the narrow pass through which they were flying; and, stopping the enemy's pursuit, afforded them an opportunity to rally. Lewis was appointed to return to the charge a third time. He advanced with five chosen troops, leaving the rest behind as a reserve, and giving them strict orders to kill every man who should turn his back. The Spaniards, finding that he was resolute, retired behind their foot.

WHILE Lewis was thus employed, the battle raged with great fury among the Downs. Vere, after giving every proof of a bold soldier and a prudent General, received two wounds; had his horse killed under him; and would have been taken prisoner, had not Drury placed him behind his saddle, and, in this manner, carried him off the field. His men were beginning to yield, when Maurice, understanding their situation, dispatched Balin, with two troops of horse, to the shore,

The Spaniards defeated.

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shore, who checked the fury of the assailants; put their lines into confusion; and routed seven hundred Spanish and Italian horse on the right wing. This success determined the fate of the day. Maurice's foot pressed upon those who fled; and dividing themselves into small bodies of three and four hundred, on account of the inequality of the ground, entirely broke the whole Spanish army. Albert rode constantly through the ranks, encouraging his men. As he kept his face uncovered, that he might be better known, he received a slight wound behind the right ear; and was once almost taken prisoner by a soldier who had caught hold of his horse's reins, but was killed by some of Albert's attendants. When, after three hours of an obstinate struggle, he saw that the battle was lost, he left the field. All his troops concerned in the action immediately fled, and in great confusion, except four thousand Germans, who, retired in good order. The regiments of Barlotta and Bucquoy, with the Irish who had not been engaged, stood till attacked by the Horace Vere, and Domerville, Colonel of a French regiment. They were soon surrounded, and most of them killed. Maurice dispatched a small body of horse to pursue the flying enemy; but kept the rest near his foot, afraid that the Germans, whom the Arch Duke had appointed as a reserve, would renew the combat. He was blamed by some for not prosecuting with more vigour the advantage he had gained. But he did not think it prudent to hazard his men, who were already much fatigued, and almost faint with hunger, in a pursuit through roads with which they were unacquainted, where there were several forts, and many ditches and morasses. To his prudence and conduct must this signal victory be, in a great measure, ascribed. His horse was superior in number to those of the

the Spaniards, and his cannon, by being better served, did more execution. Some of the best of his enemy's Generals were absent, Courtrera being in Spain, and Laudriano confined by sickness. The powder for their guns accidentally took fire; and their cannon, not being placed upon carriages, sunk into the sand, and became useless. The Confederates made great slaughter; and their rage was inflamed by the victory not having been acquired without much bloodshed on their part. Such of the Spaniards as fled by Ostend were killed by the garrison, who sallied out upon them, and put to death many who had been saved in the view of a ransom. Edmonds, a Colonel, killed, it is said, one man, who offered no less a sum than ten thousand crowns for his life. The loss on both sides is uncertain. The best accounts say, that three thousand of the Spaniards were found dead on the field*; and that, of the Confederates, there were two thousand five hundred amissing, including those who had been in the engagement with Ernest†. The English suffered much. Of the one thousand five hundred men of that nation, eight hundred were killed and wounded; eight officers were missing; and all the rest wounded except two. The Spanish cannon, all the ammunition and baggage, and more

* Van den Sande says, 5000; Belgicarum Historiarum Epitome, p. 42. Ens and Petit, no less than 6000; but this seems extravagant.

† So Reidan and Van den Sande. Grotius says, that 1000 were amissing, besides those who had been with Ernest; Carnero, that, in all, about 9000 were killed, more than 6000 of the Confederates, and 2500 of the Royal Army, but acknowledges that this was the greatest loss which the Spaniards had ever sustained; and Pile, that there were found dead between 7000 and 8000, besides 2000 killed in the battle of the morning, p. 689.

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more than one hundred colours, fell into the hands of the Confederates, together with upwards of eight hundred prisoners, some of them of considerable rank. Among these was Mendoza, who flying, attended only by one servant, was known by a deserter who had served in his troop, seized, and carried back to Maurice. The Prince, after returning public thanks to God for this victory, spent all that night in the place of battle, and next day went to Ostend, to refresh his men, and to take care of the sick and wounded.

THIS success was peculiarly agreeable to the Deputies at Ostend. When Albert had recovered the forts and defeated Ernest, they were in the greatest terror. When the armies came in sight of each other, and the advantage inclined sometimes to one side, and sometimes to the other, they looked on with that anxiety which was natural, when the existence of the Republic itself depended upon the issue. The States had certainly exposed it to the most imminent hazard, by trusting their whole army in a place which no convoys could reach, and from whence it could not possibly retreat. Such conduct was very different from the caution they had hitherto discovered. For, on many former occasions, they refused to engage in undertakings where the success was much more probable. The Spaniards, on the other hand, acted with no less imprudence. When fatigued with their march, they rashly encountered an enemy who, in a few days, might have been reduced to any terms by want of provisions; and attacked them at a time when they were driven to despair. Albert endeavoured to encourage the Provinces of Brabant and Flanders, by representing, that he had got free of many of those troops who were so troublesome by their mutinies;

mutinies; that the Confederates had gained nothing but the empty glory of a victory, which would be followed with no effect of any consequence; and that they could not repair their loss of men; whereas, what he himself had suffered, would soon be scarcely felt.

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THE Confederates troops remained some days in Ostend. It was proposed, that the neighbouring forts should be immediately attacked. But Vere and others were of opinion, that the Spaniards should be pursued even to the gates of Ghent and Bruges, where provisions might be procured; and that advantage should be taken of their present consternation, to strike terror into the large towns. But the Deputies of Holland and Zealand insisted that Nieuport should be immediately besieged, which, if taken, would open a passage to Dunkirk. The losses they had sustained in their trade made them anxious to get possession of that town. Maurice complied with their request, though the season proved very unfavourable by a prodigious fall of rain, and the soldiers were unwilling to make any farther attempts in that quarter. The soldiers likewise quarrelled about their prisoners; some inclining to observe the laws of war, and to treat them with humanity, in hopes of getting money for their ransom; others, particularly the Scots, enraged at the loss of their companions, and pretending that the enemy had already set them the example, put several of their prisoners to death, notwithstanding their officers expressly discharged such acts of barbarity.

THE fourth day after the battle, Maurice led his army to Nieuport. But incessant rains, for
K nine

Siege of
Nieuport,

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1600.

is raised.

nine days, prevented him from shutting up the town by his works. This gave his enemies an opportunity of introducing such a number of troops, that the garrison was augmented to three thousand men. They frequently sallied out, harassed the Confederates, and disturbed their operations. Albert, in the mean time, collected a new army out of the Germans and Flemings who having been left to guard the baggage were not engaged in the late action, such as had escaped, and fifteen hundred soldiers, whom, for a long time, the Province of Flanders maintained, and kept in the towns, ready in any case of necessity. These were sufficient to stop Maurice's progress in a marshy country, and which was interspersed with rivers. Velasco likewise encamped at Dixmuyden near Nieuport. Maurice found it impracticable, in these circumstances, to carry on the siege, and raised his camp, wishing to bring the Spaniards to an engagement. But the consequences of their former rashness taught them caution; and they thought themselves secure, being defended by the ditches which were between them and the Confederates army. Ernest of Nassau very narrowly escaped being killed by a ball from one of the forts, as he was passing. Both his own horse, and the horse which one of his attendants rode, were shot. But Barlotta, then in the fort, received a mortal wound. By his death Albert lost one of his ablest Generals. Maurice, having now no hopes of doing any thing farther in Flanders, embarked his men; sailed from Ostend, into which he placed three thousand infantry, and two companies of horse; and put the troops into winter quarters. Many complaints were made, that the victory he had gained was attended with
so

so little advantage. Ostend, upon his leaving it, was immediately besieged *. Book II.
1600.

THE defeat of the Spanish army, near Nieuport, made the States of the Provinces subject to Albert urge him more earnestly to enter into conferences for a peace with the Confederates. He therefore appointed Commissioners for this purpose, who met with the Deputies of the United Provinces, at Bergen-op-zoom, where they had stopped after coming out of Flanders; made great promises on the part of the Arch Duke and Isabella; and declared that they were tired of the war, and ready to grant every reasonable demand. They were told by the Deputies, that no conferences would be held, unless they previously agreed, that the foreign troops should be dismissed. They were likewise asked, what security would be given, that the terms agreed upon should be observed? As Albert's Commissioners could give no direct answer to this question, nothing farther was done †.

WHEN the General Estates informed Elisabeth of their resolution not to treat with the Spaniards, she determined to treat by herself, and sent a messenger to Albert, to intimate her intention, and to acquaint him, that she had procured from Henry the town of Boulogne for the place of meeting. About the beginning of the year, Verreicken arrived in London, from the Arch Duke. He proposed that the ancient leagues between England and the House of Burgundy should be renewed;

Deputies
sent by Al-
bert to treat
of peace.
July.

Commis-
sioners from
Q. Elisabeth
and Albert
meet at-
Boulogne.

K 2

* Carnero, lib. 14 c. 7, 8, 9, 10. Miniana, lib. 10. cap. 17. Pise, p. 681—691. Ens. Petit. Bentivoglio. Grotius.

† Grotius, p. 401 & 402. Reidan, lib. 17. Haræus. Ens.

BOOK II.

1600.

renewed; that Elisabeth should prohibit all trade with Holland and Zealand; that she should abandon the Confederates; and restore the cautionary towns. All these terms she rejected, as either contrary to her engagements, her interest, or her honour. Though Albert himself often, but in vain, insisted on these conditions with Edmonds, her Secretary for the French tongue, whom she had sent to Brussels, and could have but little hopes of obtaining them, yet he earnestly desired that a meeting might be held. Elisabeth consented, and named, as her Commissioners, Edmonds, Sir Henry Neville, her Ambassador in France, Herbert, her second Secretary, and Beale, Secretary to the Council in the North. Balthazar de Zuniga y Fonseca, Philip's Ambassador at Brussels, Ferdinando Carillo, a Licentiate of the Order of St. James, and Philip's Counsellor in Castile, were appointed Commissioners for the King of Spain; and President Richardot, and Verreicken, for the Arch Duke. They assembled in the middle of May, but disputed for three months, about the Precedency between England and Spain. Unable to determine this point, they separated, without entering upon business*.

July 28.

State of the
Provinces
subject to
Albert,

THE States of the Provinces subject to Albert now lost all hopes of a peace, and therefore applied themselves to provide for the future expences of the war. There were great debates about the proportion which each should pay. The same rule could not be followed which obtained during the wars with France, in the time of the Emperor Charles V. because the condition of several of the Provinces was considerably changed. It

* Birch's View of the Negotiations, &c. p. 194—199. Grotius, p. 386. Reidan.

It was agreed, that three hundred thousand florins † a-month should be raised, and this rate to continue for a year; but in fact it continued afterwards. The States required, that the soldiers in garrison should be paid, without having a right to demand any thing from the citizens; that half of the troops and garrisons should be commanded by Flemings; and that the treasury should be under the direction of the States. Some of these articles Albert absolutely refused to grant; and paid no regard to others which he had promised to observe. The States were much offended with letters brought by Guzman from Philip, in which he addressed them as still his own subjects; and with Guzman having orders to examine the books of the merchants, with a design to discover if they had any dealings with the Confederates. The city of Antwerp so violently opposed the enquiry, that the project failed*.

THE expedition into Flanders had so much exhausted the finances of the Confederates, that there was an absolute necessity to press some of the Provinces to pay their contributions, and to use more rigour in collecting them, than ought otherwise to have been used with States so closely connected

and of the
United Pro-
vinces.

† Grotius says, *trices mille*, 30,000 florins. But this must be either a mistake of that author, or a typographical error; for such a sum would have been too small. Ens more properly makes it 300,000. He mentions the expence of the particular articles to which this sum was to be applied, and the proportion each Province was to pay; as Brabant, 70,000 florins; Limburgh, 6000; Luxemburgh, 10,000; Gueldres, 10,000; Flanders, 95,000; Artois, 30,000; Henault, 30,000; Lisle, 10,000; Doway, 5000; Orchies, 10,000; Valenciennes, 5000; Namur, 7000; Tournay, 3500; Tournesis, 5000; and Malines, 3500.—*Historia Belli Civilis*, lib. 21. p. 161.

* Grotius, p. 402. Ens.

BOOK II.

1600.

connected together. Great attention was given to every means of increasing the public revenues; and that no fraud might be committed, with respect to the number of the troops, two captains were degraded for making false lists of their men, though a near relation of one of them had a seat in the General Estates. Holland, Gueldres, Utrecht, Groningen, and the Ommelands, increased their taxes. The inhabitants of Swoll prevented Overysfel from following this example, though willing. But, by stationing a man of war at their port, and stopping their trade, they were obliged to comply. The Admiralty had contracted much debt by the expedition to St. Thomas, where little booty was got. The sailors had not their pay regularly; and the crews of four Zealand ships openly mutinied. Even the merchants complained of the decay of their trade. Philip and Albert still continued their prohibition, notwithstanding the remonstrances of their own subjects, in hopes of destroying the Confederates, by depriving them of the chief source of their wealth. The ships which had returned from America and India, and particularly, from the Islands of Molucca and Java, brought home valuable cargoes. But this branch of trade was confined solely to the richer merchants, who could advance large sums of money. The inferior merchants wished for a free commerce with neighbouring nations, which to them was of more advantage*.

Losses of
the Confe-
derates at
Sea.

ALBERT, in order to distress the Confederates still more, endeavoured to put a stop to their herring fishery, which yielded great profits. With this view, ten vessels sailed from Dunkirk, with a thousand

* Reidani Annales, lib. 17. p. 528.

thousand soldiers aboard, under the command of the Lord of Wacken, who suddenly attacked the fishers on the coast of Norway. The four men of war, which had been appointed as their convoy, happened, at that time, to be separated at some distance from one another; by which means, two of them only were forced to sustain the attack of the enemy. One of the men of war was sunk, and sixteen of the fishing vessels taken, which, with all their crews, were sunk. These fishing vessels were not provided with cannon; and most part of the men, being of the sect of the Mennonists, refused to use arms even in their own defence. The coming up of the other two men of war saved the rest of the fleet from the same fate. Wacken afterwards fell in with twenty-six merchantmen on the Spanish coast. But he did not venture to attack them, because they had two men of war for their protection. As only about two hundred fishing vessels had returned this year, and with very small cargoes of herrings, the complaints of the sailors were loud. To prevent farther misfortunes, some ships of war put to sea to watch the Dunkirk privateers; and the merchant ships were discharged to leave their ports for fourteen days. Two of the privateers were pursued, and forced upon the coast of Flanders, where they were dashed to pieces; another was sunk; and a fourth, with forty-nine men aboard, was taken, and carried into Holland. Spinola's gallies still did much mischief. When the wind was favourable, they attacked the merchant ships; and it was feared that some of their men might land, and advance as far as the Hague itself. The States men of war often gave them chase, but could not take any prizes.

To oppose these Spanish gallies, the States designed to equip some ships of a like construction. For

BOOK II.
1600.

The galley
of Dort.

Book II.

1600.

September.

For want of money one only was built at Dort, of forty-eight paces long, and fitted for quick sailing. The command was given to James Michel, a valiant and experienced seaman. The crew were partly volunteers, and partly malefactors condemned to the oars for some years, on account of their crimes. In the first expedition in which this galley was employed, Michel sailed towards Sluys, where he fought three of Spinola's galleys; obliged them to retire into the harbour; and carried off a Zealand ship they had taken. Afterwards, the Admiral of Zealand, accompanied by this galley, and some small floops, sailed to the very port of Antwerp; and, arriving there at mid-night, found the ship belonging to the Admiral of that city lying at anchor, a large vessel carrying sixteen brass cannon, and ten of iron. Maës, the captain, happened to be absent. For some time, the sailors aboard made an obstinate resistance; but, perceiving that they would be overpowered, leaped into the sea, and escaped into the town. Two new vessels, made for sailing between Brussels and Mechlin, and five others of a smaller size, called by the Flemings *Heuden*, or passage-boats, were taken. The galley returned triumphant with her prizes in sight of Ordam, and the other forts belonging to the enemy, who fired some shot as she passed, but without effect. So much were the inhabitants of Antwerp alarmed, that, for two days, they kept their gates close shut. Count Aremberg came there soon after; punished Maës, and the other officers for their negligence; and built a fort, under the protection of which the ships might retire in the night time*.

ALBERT

* Petit. p. 766. Reidan, lib. 17. Grotius. Pise. It deserves to be mentioned, as an instance of uncommon industry, that

ALBERT had now found, by repeated trials, that the Confederates were obstinate in refusing to listen to proposals of peace. He therefore saw it necessary to prepare for carrying on the war with vigour, and repairing the losses he had lately sustained. New levies were made; and Philip-William, Prince of Orange, who had hitherto taken no part in the operations of the field, accepted of the command of one of the new-raised troops of horse. The mutineers at Diest were pacified with five hundred thousand ducats. Five thousand men were collected in Spain, to be transported into the Netherlands; and in several ports of the kingdom were built a great number of small vessels, such as were fit for sailing along the Flemish coasts. But Albert's chief dependence for a supply of troops was in some thousands of well-trained soldiers, who had hitherto been employed in Savoy, but were now unnecessary there, as a peace had been concluded between the Duke and the King of France. By this means, he proposed to maintain two armies, one to act on the other side the Rhine, and another in Flanders, where he expected to get possession of Ostend, before the Confederates fleet could come to its assistance. His subjects in the Netherlands too, engaged to furnish him with three hundred and twenty thousand florins a-month; and, for their encouragement, he promised that he would procure from Philip, who, by the return of the Indian fleet, had got great treasure, two hundred and fifty thousand ducats a-month. He even conceived some hopes from the change which had taken place in the English Administration. Essex, who always opposed a peace with

that in Friseland, this year, a piece of land to the extent of 1800 acres, was recovered from the water, and inclosed with dikes, which cost 98,000 florins. Reidan, p. 529.

Book II.

1601.

Preparations for the campaign by Albert,

BOOK II. with Spain, had been guilty of some treasonable
 1601. practices, and was beheaded; and those who formerly advised it, were now the majority in the Council.

and by the
 Confed-
 erates.

THE Confederates were very uncertain what course to follow. Some proposed another expedition into Flanders, with a design to revenge the insults received from the Dunkirk privateers. But what happened last year was thought sufficient to show the imprudence of such a measure. It appeared more proper to prevent Albert's design against Ostend. With this view, Maurice had ordered the fortifications to be repaired, and the soldiers, who in summer had guarded the frontiers, to be stationed in such manner, that, on a short warning, they could be collected together. As Ostend could not be shut up, it was suspected, that Albert might, by means of the forts already built, only straiten it with part of his forces, and crossing the Rhine with the rest, attack some other place of more consequence, in a quarter where the frontiers were weak. On the other hand, as he could not pass that river till summer, when he could find provision for his horse, and be reinforced with the troops from Savoy, it was not improbable, that, in the mean time, he would attack Ostend with his whole army. Two schemes were mentioned, with a view to oppose him in the execution of this plan; either to encamp near Ostend; or, by laying siege to some of the enemy's towns, to cause a diversion. None were willing to risk a battle; the dangers to which the army was exposed last campaign having rendered the States more cautious. It was thought difficult likewise to form a camp near Ostend, as the Spaniards were at hand, and, by the uncertainty of the weather, early in the spring, there would be considerable hazard in transporting the troops by

by sea. Besides it would be very improper to be at great expence in providing vessels for this purpose, before Albert's intentions were certainly known. The safest step, therefore, seemed to be, to take some of his towns; but, as to the place they should besiege, a variety of opinions were entertained. It was said, that if Albert attacked Ostend, the Confederates might assault Grave, Bois-le-Duc, or Rhineberg; or, that if he should pass the Rhine with his whole army, they might march into the neighbourhood of Wesel, and endeavour to get possession of Emmeric and Rhees, which Albert would, in this case, certainly attempt. At last, it was generally agreed, as William of Nassau had advised, to wait until the enemy was in motion; to take measures according to what should appear to be the Arch Duke's design; and, in the mean time, to spare the troops, but to keep them in readiness to take the field*.

Book II.
1601.

In the middle of winter, Cloet, captain of a troop of horse, secured the Castle of Cracow. It was situated in the territory of Mœurs, and belonged to Maurice, by the will of the last Count; but had been kept from him by Salentine, Count Isenburg, in virtue of a grant from the Prince of Parma. Cloet, with three hundred horse, and some foot, passing by Wachtendonck, was attacked by a party dispatched against him by Dulck, who commanded for the Arch Duke in the neighbouring town of Stralen. But Cloet, seeming to yield, drew the assailants into an ambuscade which he had placed in an adjoining village; killed sixty of them; took four hundred prisoners; and, at the same time, setting fire to the gate of the castle, got it by storm.

Cloet takes
Cracow.
Feb.

ENDEAVOURS

* Reidani Annales, lib. 18. p. 534, 535, 539, & 540.

BOOK II.

1601.

Designs a-
gainst Ger-
truydenberg
and Flush-
ing fail.

ENDEAVOURS were used to gain both Gertruydenberg and Flushing by treachery. One Provin, a young man of family in Brussels, had joined the Confederates, and was treated with respect. Notwithstanding, he meditated a design of betraying Gertruydenberg to Albert. He communicated this intention to a French soldier, then a prisoner. The soldier disclosed the plot, in hopes of obtaining his liberty. The plan proposed was, that forty or fifty men should feign an attack upon some of the Confederates troops, but allow themselves to be taken; that, when they should be put in prison, Provin, who lived in a house near the gate, should, with the assistance of this Frenchman, set them free; that then they should instantly kill the guard, and seize upon the gate. Provin was convicted, hanged, and quartered.

ALBERT, hoping to surprise Flushing in a similar manner, kept, for some months, a good part of his army in the territory of Hulst, as if he intended to push the siege of Ostend. He held a correspondence with a citizen who favoured the Spanish party; but one of the persons concerned in the plot was taken ill, and, thinking himself dying, confessed it to a minister who attended him, and who immediately gave information to the magistrates. By this means it was prevented from being put into execution.

Mendoza
procures his
liberty.

MENDOZA, who was taken prisoner at the battle of Nieuport, tired of his confinement in the Castle of Woerden, in Holland, made frequent offers of great sums of money for the purchase of his liberty, which were always refused by the States, notwithstanding they had paid Lewis of Nassau a hundred thousand florins as a recompence for so illustrious a captive. He at last engaged, that, as a ransom, he would procure liberty to all the Confederates
then

then prisoners in Spain, the Netherlands, the East Indies, America, or in any places subject to the King of Spain, or who should be taken within six weeks from the date of the agreement. This bargain was accordingly executed. Between three and four hundred prisoners were released, and returned to their native country, though they were not above a third part of the whole taken since the beginning of the war, many having died during their captivity †.

Book II.

1601.

BEFORE the whole fleet, sent to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, in the year 1598, had returned, three more vessels were dispatched by the same route, in April following, and came home this summer. One was called the *Sun*, another the *Moon*, and the third the *Morning Star*. They were well provided with arms for their defence, and put under the command of Etienne or Stephen van Hagen, a man of courage and experience. They passed by the islands of Madeira, Dalma, Gomero, and Teneriffe; but having anchored in the road of the Isle of Maio, some of the crew went ashore, where one of them was killed, and seven taken prisoners by the Portuguese. The Admiral ordered a hundred of his men to traverse the island, and, if possible, to rescue them; but the Portuguese kept so well concealed, that all search was in vain, and he was obliged to leave the island, and submit to this loss. Partly owing to contrary

Three ships
return from
the East In-
dies.

Maio.

† Grotius, p. 405, &c. Reidan, lib. 18. p. 540, &c. Ens asserts, that besides fulfilling the conditions above-mentioned, he paid 23,000 crowns, and gave security for 70,000 more; but neither Grotius nor Reidan take any notice of his giving money. Carnero says, that Mendoza, and 1000 soldiers, who had been taken prisoners at the battle of Nieuport, were ransomed by the King of Spain, at the expence of more than 100,000 crowns. Historia, lib. 15. c. 4.

BOOK II.

1601.

Bantam.

contrary winds, and partly to currents, he did not come in sight of Prince's Island till the twenty-third of June, when he wished to take in fresh water; but it was refused him by the Governor; and he saw such an appearance of opposition, if he should attempt to land, that he steered to the coast of Corisco, where he easily procured the supply he wanted. He next stopped at the Cape of Good Hope, where he got some refreshments, and intended to take his route to Java; but was forced to put first into Madagascar, and afterwards into the island of St. Mary. The inhabitants here fled upon his approach. In making for Bantam he often met with cross winds; but by the middle of March, in the following year, anchored before that town. While he was uncertain what reception he would meet with, several of the natives came aboard, and brought fruits, and all kinds of provisions. Next day, he was visited by a person who spoke the Portuguese language; and, in the name of the Sabandar, desired him to send information to the Governor, from whence he came, and on what design. Some of the officers went ashore, and being conducted to the palace, were met by the Sabandar and several of the nobility, who introduced them to the governor. When they had sat down on the carpets that were spread for them, he asked what were their intentions; and told them, that if they wanted pepper, they had come at an unlucky time, as the last crop had been very bad, and the Chinese vessels were just loaded. He enquired in what manner they proposed to pay for the pepper, whether in money or goods? They gave him such satisfactory answers, that he promised, if they would bring their goods ashore, to assign them a warehouse, in which they might be safely lodged. The Flemings thanked him for the
the

the offer; and the Admiral was so well pleased, that he sent the Governor presents of some mirrors, velvet, and embroidered cloth. But when another party went ashore, in order to settle with him the duties to be paid upon landing their goods, and the price of rice and other provisions, he made such extravagant demands, that the Admiral judged proper to leave Bantam, and make for Banda, Amboina, or the Moluccas, at some of which places, as he was informed by a letter delivered to him here, the last ships from Holland had left some of their men, who would be of service to him in carrying on trade*.

Book II.

1601.

NOTWITHSTANDING the earnest intreaty of the Governor, who, now sensible that he had committed an error, desired Van Hagen, to stay, the three vessels set sail, and passing Madura, Baly, Cambaya, and some unknown islands, the *Sun* anchored, in the beginning of May, before Amboina; but the force of the currents carried the other two upon the coast of the island of Banda. Some days after, the *Moon's* boat brought an account that they expected to get a cargo there, which the *Sun* could not procure at Amboina, as the greatest part of the crop had been already sold, and the present crop, though very promising, would not be ready for six months. The nobles of Amboina, however, having applied to the Admiral for his assistance against the Portuguese, and pressed

* The writer of this voyage takes notice of a singular kind of government of the women of Bantam. They are all under the rule of a Princess of the Blood Royal, lawfully elected for this purpose. She decides all differences that arise among the women; and has great privileges; particularly, that of speaking to the King whenever she pleases, without being obliged, as all other persons are, first to ask permission. *Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi*, tom. 3. p. 370.

BOOK II.

1601.

pressed him so earnestly that he could not refuse, the *Moon's* boat was sent away to bring all the other boats. They accordingly came, well armed, and the crews were ordered to put ashore at Amboina, and to join the natives in laying siege to a fort held by the Portuguese. But the natives did not furnish the tenth part of the number of men they promised; and the Portuguese had erected such strong batteries on the shore, that they could not land. A cannon-shot from the fort set fire to the powder in the Admiral's boat, by which accident one man was killed, and sixteen were wounded. The *Moon* and *Morning Star* got a large cargo at Banda, and rejoined the Admiral. Before leaving Amboina, the Flemings made an alliance with the natives against the Portuguese, by which it was stipulated, that a fort should be built by the natives, to be furnished with cannon, powder, ball, and a garrison, by the Flemings; and that the former, in return, should give the latter all their cloves, at a fixed price. In consequence of this agreement the fort was built, and provided with ammunition, and a garrison of twenty-seven men, under the command of John Dircksz Sonneberg.

THE season being now far advanced, the fleet left Amboina, sixth day of October, and the nineteenth of November arrived at Bantam, where they soon compleated their cargo, and met with six other vessels from their own country. Four of these accompanied them when they set sail homewards, the fourteenth January 1601. In their return, they were several times attacked by storms, which rendered their voyage very tedious, and prevented them from arriving until the middle of summer.

Encrease of
the trade of
the United
Provinces.

IN this manner, while the General Estates of the United Provinces were occupied with defending themselves

themselves against the enemy by land, private companies of merchants were, every year, extending their commerce. The herring-fishery was still prosecuted with so much attention and success, that no less than one thousand five hundred busses were employed in this branch. The route to the East Indies was now well known; the advantages of a trade with these countries was sensibly felt; and the weakness of the Spaniards and Portuguese, in that quarter, discovered. The number of ships was, of course, increased; and seventeen sailed this year. Fourteen, under the command of Wolphart Harmensen, James Heemskerck, and John Grenier, equipped by different companies, left the Texel together the twenty-third of April. Signals were agreed upon to prevent their separating from each other; in case of any accident happening in their way to the Cape de Verd Islands, the Island of Mai was fixed for the rendezvous; such as first arrived there were appointed to wait for the rest five days; and if not joined, during that time, by the whole fleet, should, when they departed that island, leave a signal in a certain place on land. If they should be separated after passing the Cape de Verd Islands, they were ordered to make for the Bay of Anton Gill, in the Island of Madagascar, and wait for one another fifteen days, after which to leave a signal, and steer for Bantam*.

THE Confederates had waited until the month of May for the enemy taking the field, without any appearance of their being in motion, when they were surprised with an unexpected offer from Queen Elisabeth, to maintain, at her own expence, five thousand troops, if they would march their army

Confederates besiege Rhineberg, May.

* Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi, &c. tom. 3. p. 342—377, and 415, &c.

army into Flanders. It was supposed that Carron, their resident at London, who was a native of that Province, had, out of regard to his country, and at the desire of some of the Deputies of the States of Holland and Zealand, pressed her to make this proposal. In consequence of it, the General Estates, farther encouraged by the inactivity of Albert, provided every thing necessary for Maurice leaving his winter quarters, and undertaking some design, before the troops from Savoy should arrive to the assistance of the enemy. To show respect to the Queen, and to answer her views, it was resolved, that Vere, with the English auxiliaries, and four thousand Flemings, should attack the forts near Ostend, while Maurice, with the horse, and the rest of the foot, should attempt Rhineberg. Lewis of Nassau was, at that time, to be married to Ann of Manderschte, widow of Count Bruck, and the nuptials were to be celebrated at Arnheim. Maurice went there, as if his only intention was to be present at the ceremony; and sending for William to have his advice, ordered the troops to assemble on the banks of the Rhine and Maese, and the cannon and warlike stores to be put aboard the vessels. So little was his aim suspected, that the passages to Rhineberg were occupied by his horse, before the inhabitants were alarmed. Even Albert himself was not ready to make opposition. He had got very little money from Spain; the Indian fleet returning home, having, in the month of March, being almost destroyed by a storm; and Philip having been at vast expence in supporting a large body of troops in Lombardy, and in an expedition against Ireland.

MAURICE immediately began the siege of Rhineberg with one hundred and two companies of foot, and thirty three troops of horse; and soon
gained

gained the little fort situated in the island, in which he placed four cannon, which much galled the town. Louis Bernard Avila was Governor, with a garrison consisting of three thousand Walloons, Italians, and Germans, and well furnished with provisions *. The fortifications had been encreased since it was taken by Mendoza, and were defended by thirty-six cannon. Maurice secured his camp with his usual caution. One half of his troops were placed behind some little rising hills, near the town, on the north side; and in the front were erected fortifications, to prevent the enemy making an attack. The other half of his army encamped on some plain ground towards the south, with fortifications likewise for their defence. There was a communication between the two camps by means of a covert way. The ships were stationed, partly on the Rhine, as far as Cologne, and partly near the army. Avila, on his side, raised some works without the ditch; enclosed some pasture-ground for feeding cattle, as he had not enough of salt for preserving provisions; and burnt his ships, that they might not be seized by Maurice. The besieged made several sallies, in one of which Avila was wounded in the face; and, in all of them, they suffered a considerable loss of men. In the mean time, the regiments of Bucquoy and Barliamont, with one thousand three hundred horse, began to assemble at Stralen: but this assistance afforded little hope to the besieged; because Albert, anxious to preserve the richest province of his dominions, had dispatched the best part of his troops to Ostend; the States of Flanders having

L 2

engaged

* Grotius says, that Hieronymo Lopez was Governor. But it is observable, that he afterwards mentions Avila as conducting the defence. Grotius and Reidan agree in the above number being in garrison; but Bentivoglio says, there were no more than 1200 foot, and 100 horse.

Book II.

1601.

Rhineberg
surrenders.
July 30.

engaged to give him three hundred thousand florins a-month, until the town should be taken.

THE siege of Ostend gave great uneasiness to Maurice. He was very unwilling to quit Rhineberg, now that he was far advanced, and yet could not expect to get possession of it, without a strong army; while Vere, who was preferred to the government of Ostend, refused to undertake this office, unless he was allowed to carry along with him twenty companies of the English auxiliaries. Maurice could not deny him these troops; and though, by this means, the army was much weakened, he still persisted; and on the twentieth day after his works were begun, a mine was ready to be blown up at a corner of the covert way, to which he had brought his approaches. The mine destroyed that part. The troops whom he had ordered to plant themselves on the ruins, marched, with an ardour which could not be restrained, still nearer the town, and were beat back with loss; but, notwithstanding, secured their appointed station. The next day, the besieged deserted the covert way, on the south, and soon after, that on the north side. It was discovered from intercepted letters, that Albert and Herman de Berg, proposed to come to their relief with the troops from Savoy. This intelligence induced Maurice to use his utmost diligence. He summoned Avila to surrender, which he refused; but five days after, he first desired to have the terms which Maurice would grant put in writing, and afterwards, upon these being given him, that he might be allowed to send to Berg, to be informed what assistance he might expect; and that in the mean time hostilities might cease. Maurice would not consent; and told him, that he must either send hostages, or expect an assault. That very night the people of Gueldres,
by

by lighting up fires, gave Avila intelligence that Berg was arrived. He had begun to pass the Maese with eight thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, an army superior to that of Maurice, who, since the departure of Vere, had no more than five thousand foot, and two thousand horse. But Berg did not chuse to proceed; whether he thought Maurice was so strongly encamped, that he could not attack him with any prospect of success, or whether he hoped to detain him from going to the relief of Ostend. His works were now finished, and every thing ready for making the assault, when hostages came from Avila, and others were sent, in return, from the Confederates army, into the town. A capitulation was concluded, by which it was agreed, that the besieged should march out with their arms, colours flying, drums beating, and all their baggage, but should leave their cannon. Maurice, in honour of Avila, who had made a brave defence, allowed him to carry away two field pieces, and furnished him with two hundred waggons for transporting the sick, wounded, and baggage, to Gueldres. The remainder of the garrison consisted of about one thousand three hundred stout soldiers, besides some sailors, and three hundred and fifty wounded and sick. They confessed, that above nine hundred had been killed within the town, exclusive of those killed in the sallies and by the mines. The government of Rhineberg was committed to Gistell; and Ernest of Nassau was stationed with twenty companies of foot, and seven troops of horse, in the island opposite to the town.

MAURICE next marched to Wachtendonck, which he supplied with some powder and provisions. His enemy's force in that quarter was now much weakened by twenty-one companies of foot being

Maurice
takes
Mœurs.

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being detached to the siege of Ostend. This appeared to Maurice a favourable opportunity for recovering Mœurs, which belonged to himself. He summoned it to surrender. The garrison desired time to send intelligence to the Duke of Cleves. But this demand being refused, and the cannon planted, they judged it prudent to yield. Maurice entered the town in triumph; was inaugurated by his subjects; and when he went away, left in it three companies for the defence both of Mœurs and Cracow. That he might save, as much as possible, the public revenue, he dismissed his ships, and whatever else he could spare; put his troops into quarters, and went to the Hague, to deliberate with the General Estates concerning the future operations*.

Confederates resolve to relieve Ostend.

THOUGH the enterprise of the Confederates against Rhineberg had succeeded, yet it was not followed with the effect they wished, the drawing Albert from Ostend. All their hopes of doing any thing in Flanders were now vanished, by Elisabeth declaring, that on account of the war in Ireland, she could not support the expence of giving them more assistance; but that she would send some troops to Ostend, provided the States would pay them. By this means, instead of expecting to gain Dunkirk, as was once proposed, all that remained was to consider in what manner Ostend could be relieved. It was impossible for the Confederates to bring their army near it, not only because the same difficulties which they found last year, after the battle of Nieuport, still remained; but likewise because the enemy were now stronger, had already taken possession of the best ground, and were sufficiently

* Carnero, lib. 15. cap. 2. Bentivoglio, p. 3. l. 6. Grattius, p. 407. & 408. Ens. Reidan. Baudart. Pise.

ciently defended by the arms of the sea which surrounded their camp.

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Description
of Ostend.

OSTEND is situated on the sea side, between Sluys and Nieuport, and was formerly but an inconsiderable town, inhabited chiefly by fishers. At the commencement of the war, it was fortified, and afforded a retreat for pirates, who spread terror all round. At the pacification of Ghent, it joined the Confederates. The siege which it sustained against the Duke of Parma, who had taken Nieuport and Dunkirk, rendered it famous, and made it an object of attention to the United States, especially when, after Sluys was lost, it was the only place on the coast of Flanders that continued in their interest. On the north side, it is washed by the sea. On the west, once ran the river Iperle which was afterwards diverted into another channel, and a harbour, but which was not capable of receiving any ships of burden at low water. On the east, the ground was formerly very uneven from a number of hills of sand; but they were afterwards levelled, that they might not afford any advantage to an enemy; and on that side, as well as on the south, where the ground was intersected with ditches, the land was, at high water, often overflowed by the tide. Fortifications were added from time to time; and, the town encreasing, was formed into two divisions; the one, next to the sea, called the Old Town, the other the New. The former was entirely deserted, and from thence a ditch, which, by means of sluices, could easily be filled with water, was carried all round the latter. This ditch was divided by two walls, each strongly fortified; beyond these, was a slight structure, but strengthened behind with a solid work; and between them another ditch. At a little distance from the town, were several fortifications, which,
in

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in a case of necessity, might be abandoned without much prejudice. Vander Noot, the Governor at this time, had a garrison consisting of twenty-one companies, and a regiment which Uchtenbrouck had brought to his assistance, at the first news of the siege, and abundance of artillery and ammunition. The repeated solicitations of the inhabitants of the Province, who were constantly harassed by the garrison, and tired of maintaining no fewer than seventeen forts, which had been built to restrain them; large promises of money; the arrival of new troops from Italy and Spain; and the enemy's army being occupied before Rhineberg, induced Albert to begin the siege in form. Fort St. Albert had been abandoned by Maurice when his army was withdrawn from Flanders, and was the quarter assigned to most part of the Spaniards, Italians, and Walloons. Frederic de Berg took his station in Fort Bredene; and from both these places, the trenches were advanced towards the town. Some other detachments occupied a sandy hill, so near as to batter it with their cannon, and which they fortified with two redoubts joined to each other by an entrenchment.

SUCH was the situation of affairs when Vere entered Ostend with three thousand men, and assumed the command. Frequent sallies were made, and generally with so much success, that four or five hundred of the besiegers were killed, and part of their works demolished. But by the diligence and activity of the Spaniards, they were soon repaired, and these sallies prevented. Albert battered the town with great fury, from mounds he erected of earth and sand; while Vere was constantly raising new fortifications on the land side, towards Fort St. Clara, that he might keep the enemy at a distance from the ditch and ramparts. This obliged

ged de Berg to quit Fort Bredene in order to oppose him; which he did so effectually, that Vere was forced to abandon his works. Bucquoy succeeded to de Berg's former station. Vere was now more and more straitened, and almost every day had about twenty of his men wounded, and several killed. Maurice himself came into the town in the end of August, and gave orders, that if it should be entirely enclosed, the bank on the east side should be cut. For some time, both Noot and Vere delayed to put this plan into execution, the Magistrates declaring, that it would lay the whole town under water. It was at last, however, executed, as the only remedy. Albert, with unwearied labour, employed a variety of contrivances to deprive the besieged of the advantage which they reaped from this project. He constructed a large wooden vessel which he filled with bullets, and sunk it where the water was highest, in hopes that, by breaking its force, he might the more easily erect a mound and platform on each side. In other places, he threw in some thousands of bags filled with sand, and raised a kind of bulwark, formed of great beams and stakes, filled up with earth and bricks, on which were placed some cannon. By constantly enlarging this barricado, the entrance to the old harbour was effectually shut; and, by cutting a channel for an arm of the sea on the other side, the water emptied itself within the very works. By this means, a new harbour was formed, more convenient than the former, and so commodious, that vessels could easily pass without receiving much damage from the besieged. Crouds of people came from all quarters to see this contrivance, as a wonderful invention in the art of war; and among these, the Duke of Holface, and the Earl of Northumberland. So much were the besieged alarmed, that they began to despair of keeping

August.

keeping the town. But they were soon relieved from their fears; for, one day the water, agitated by a storm, swept all away. When Albert saw that he could not altogether prevent supplies getting into the town, he ordered batteries to be erected, with a design to destroy the enemy's works on the west side. But any damage they did was instantly repaired. In this quarter Chatillion, grandson of the famous Admiral Coligny, was killed. Vere was wounded, and went to Zealand, where he soon recovered, and afterwards returned. The besiegers lost Catrick and Bracomont, both colonels.

THE garrison was now reduced from seven thousand to three thousand; and among these many were sick or wounded. The wind blowing for six weeks from the south and west, prevented the arrival of any ships; and frequent storms obliged both parties to be at great labour, to secure their works against the violence of the waves. The Spaniards suffered more than the besieged, who opened a new port in the very middle of the town, out of the reach of the enemy's cannon, and protected from the force of the water, by a strong bulwark formed of large beams. Another dyke was likewise cut, by which means vessels could enter; and, so effectually did this plan answer the intention, that the first ships which went out were safe even from the cannon the enemy had planted on the hills. On the other hand, the Spaniards sunk three ships, filled with stones, in the mouth of the New Channel. But they were forced on the shore by the tide, taken by the besieged, and applied to strengthening their own works. These operations of the besieged cost them one million two hundred thousand florins. The expences of Albert, it was supposed, were five times as much.

As

As winter advanced, hopes of gaining Ostend grew more faint. The Spanish soldiers were fast diminishing in number; many dying of hunger, and diseases contracted in the camp, and many deserting for want of pay. Albert, notwithstanding, continued resolute. He knew that diseases raged likewise within the town, where the loss of men could not be easily supplied; and he had received letters from Spain, in which Philip promised, that, during the siege, he would send him five hundred thousand ducats a-month, being double the usual sum*.

DURING the labour and expence employed in defending Ostend, and amidst the danger to which that town was exposed, the spirits of the Confederates were greatly supported by the return of several fleets from the East Indies, and the favourable accounts they brought of the success of these expeditions. Oliver Noort, who had undertaken to sail round the world by the Straits of Magellan, with two ships, the *Maurice* and the *Henry Frederic*, and two yachts, the *Concord* and the *Hope*, left the Netherlands in September 1598. He came in sight of Prince's Island the tenth December, without any other accident than the loss of six of his crew, who deserted in one of his boats; and of another boat, in which there was only one man. As the Admiral wanted to take in some fresh provisions at this place, he armed the remaining boats with forty men, who, upon coming near the shore, set up a white flag in token of peace. The Islanders immediately dispatched a messenger with a like ensign, as an invitation to land. Gerritz, and three more officers, were received with great appearance

Voyage of
Oliver
Noort
round the
world.

Prince's
Island.

* Carnero, lib. 15. c. 12. Reidan, lib. 18. Grotius, p. 408. Haræus. Bentivoglio. Ens.

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ance of friendship, by a Moor, who spoke Portuguese, and went along with them to the Fort. While they were entertained at table, another officer, who remained with the boats, was solicited by the Portuguese to come ashore; but he declined, on account of his having express orders from the Admiral to continue in that station. By this means, he escaped the fate of his companions, three of whom were treacherously massacred. The fourth, with difficulty, made his escape. Some others of the crew, who had gone ashore, observing him running towards the boats with great haste, and suspecting some treachery, followed his example. The Portuguese pursued them to the water, and killed two of them in the very boats. The Admiral immediately called a council of war; and, in consequence of the opinion of the officers, all the vessels advanced within the Bay, and the *Concord* was placed directly opposite to the Fort. Parties, well armed, were put ashore; and, though the first detachment met with such resistance, that they were obliged to retire with the loss of two men killed and sixteen wounded, yet another entrenched themselves so strongly that they could not be dislodged, and, supported by more troops, forced the Portuguese to take shelter in the fort. They evidently perceived, from some beams of wood, and stones, lying at the entrance of the island, that Cleerhagen had intended to erect a fortification at this place. They concluded likewise, from observing, wherever they went, the several bays strongly guarded, that the island was well peopled, and that it would not be in their power to procure any provisions without the consent of the inhabitants. They saw that it produced abundance of sugar, and a little ginger and tobacco. The Portuguese had taught the natives to pay veneration to the crucifix. The men were
naked,

naked, and carried for their arms pikes, rapiers, and shields. The women had a piece of cloth wrapped round their middle, and which reached to their knees. Book II.
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THE Admiral, having laid in a stock of fresh water, again set sail, steered his course towards the coast of Brasil, and the ninth of February, 1599, anchored in the Bay of Rio Janeiro. As such of the sailors who went ashore were taken by the Portuguese, the fleet staid here only a few days; and, proceeding on the voyage, touched at the islands of St. Sebastian and St. Clara, and the Port of Desire, and entered the mouth of the Straits of Magellan the beginning of November, after having been fourteen months at Sea. The *Concord* was so much shattered, that the crew were obliged, some time before, to abandon her, and set her on fire. Huydecooper, captain of the *Hope*, having died, Pierre de Lint, who formerly commanded the *Concord*, was substituted in his place, and the name of the *Hope* changed to that of the *Concord*. The fleet had, in this course, lost a hundred men. Four several times attempts were made to advance; but the ships were as often beat back by the force of the winds. At last, the Admiral and his yacht got forward about thirteen or fourteen leagues; but James Claarz d'Ulpenda, who commanded the *Henry Frederic*, in quality of Vice Admiral, always kept behind, without using any effort. For the first three leagues, the strait was not above half a league broad; but afterwards it extended to about a league and a half. On the south side was a point of land which they named *the Cape of Nassau*. Two leagues farther west-north-west, they observed two islands, the smallest of which was inhabited. Some of the sailors, going ashore, met with

BOOK II. ^{1601.} with about forty of the natives, who no sooner perceived them than they fled and concealed themselves. The Flemings, discovering a cave, marched up to it, and found it defended by a number of men, who opposed their entrance, and wounded several with their arrows. They obstinately refused to yield, and were all killed. Within, were the women lying close by one another, and covering their children. Four of the boys and two girls were carried aboard. These people lived chiefly upon the Penguins, a species of birds, in which the island abounds; and it was supposed that they had come from the continent, as there were upon the point of the island, persons who had passed over in search of these birds. Each family lived by themselves in caves and composed a tribe. They were generally of a middle or rather less size. Their faces were painted. The men had long hair. The women had their hair cut short by their ears, and the skin of a Penguin wrapped round their middle. The rest of the body was naked*.

LEAVING this island, the Admiral kept along the coast of the continent, and touched at the port called *Port Famine*, by Cavendish the English navigator, who about twelve years before, visited this

* Les Hommes avoient le Bout de leurs Parties Naturelles lie avec une Espece de Fil. Recueil des Voyages.

The author of the Journal of Noort's Voyage says, He learned, that on the Continent, and far up the country, there were men of ten and eleven feet in height. Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi, &c. tom. 3. p. 29. This account was certainly very much exaggerated. Some later English travellers have represented these Patagonians as of an enormous stature, their common size being estimated at eight feet. Many of them, it is said, were much taller. Others, who actually measured these people, found them to be from six feet to six feet five and seven inches in height. Robertson's History of America, Vol. I. p. 303, note 47. p. 462.

this place. He next anchored in a bay he named from himself *Oliver's Bay*, where he built a small boat, and was joined by the Vice Admiral, who had all this time kept behind. Proceeding about three leagues into the bay, he met with Weert, who had been forced back into the Straits from the South Sea †; and anchored near a high Cape, which the English had called *Cape Galant*. It was here where the fleet to which Weert belonged had passed the greatest part of the winter, as being the safest road in all the Straits. The wind shifting to south south-east, the Vice Admiral, who, at that time, happened to be on board the Admiral's ship, suddenly went away, without taking leave; and, when he returned to his own vessel, fired a gun and set sail, without any orders. The Admiral continued in the same station till next night, when he likewise sailed with Weert in company; but, in the morning, a contrary strong tide obliged him to cast anchor on the north shore, where he was detained for two days. With difficulty he afterwards doubled another Cape, which Weert, not being able to accomplish, was forced to return. But Noort got into a fine bay, where he was defended from the westerly winds, and which he named *Maurice Bay* *. Three days after, he came up with the Vice Admiral, whom he found lying in another bay, about half a league distant from the former. This last he named *Henry's Bay*. A council of war sentenced the Vice Admiral to be put under arrest for disobedience. Three weeks were given him to prepare his defence; and Biesman, his first Lieutenant, was, in the mean time, substituted in his place. When he was brought to trial, the apology he made was not sustained. He was found guilty, and condemned

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† See above, p. 105.

BOOK II. demned to be put ashore in the Strait. Only a
1601. little bread and wine were left him ; so that if he
was not soon seized by the Savages, he would probably die of hunger. Lint, Captain of the *Concord*, was appointed Vice Admiral, and Biesman to the command of the *Concord*.

FROM the thirty-first day of December to the twenty-seventh of February 1600, the fleet was tossed about by contrary winds ; during that time was forced back to Maurice Bay ; and afterwards, obliged to take shelter, first in a bay they called *Mennonist*, from the pilot who discovered it being an Anabaptist, and next in another they named the *Bay of Gueux*. Enjoying, at last, a favourable wind from the east, they came in sight of Cape Desire, at the mouth of the Strait, which, at that place, was about seven leagues broad. The twenty-ninth they got entirely clear of the Strait ; entered the South Sea ; and steered north-west, with a good breeze. The crews of the three vessels were exceedingly rejoiced at having accomplished a voyage through so many hazards, in the navigation of a Strait, which, according to the Flemings, is one hundred and ten German leagues long. On the fourteenth of March, the ship of Vice Admiral Lint disappeared, and was never afterwards seen ; but the other two, pursuing their voyage, discovered land on the twentieth, which they found to be the continent of Chili. Advancing a little farther, they came in sight of an island called *La Mocha*, in 36 degrees latitude, and about six leagues from the main land. The Admiral put ashore two of his boats. The natives traded with the crew with great freedom, and gave them a sheep in exchange for a hatchet ; a fowl, and sometimes two, for a knife ; and Indian corn and fruits, for these and the like articles.

articles. The Flemings, during their stay here, discovered, that these Islanders entertained a great aversion to the Spaniards; that polygamy was in common use among them; that they purchased wives from their fathers, by giving cows, sheep, and such commodities as the country yielded; and that, though they generally lived very peaceably, yet if any person was guilty of murder, the friends of the deceased revenged his death, either by killing the murderer, or obliging him to pay something annually. Their clothes were made of the wool of their sheep, which likewise served them for beasts of burden.

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WHEN the Flemings had left La Mocha, and come in view of the Island St. Mary, about eighteen leagues to the north-north-east and south-south-east, they saw a vessel which they thought, at first, might be the Vice Admiral, but, when nearer found was a Spanish ship. She made all the sail she could in order to escape; but was overtaken, and obliged to yield. Noort learned from his prisoners, that this vessel, which was about sixty tons burden, was named the *Buon Jesus*, belonged to the King of Spain, and had been sent with provisions to the towns of Arauco and La Concepcion, where the Spaniards were at war with the Indians; and that there were several ships of war at Lima, and two at Arica. They likewise informed him, that two of the ships belonging to the fleet under the command of Cordes * had stopped at St. Mary Island; that Cordes himself, with twenty-three men, had gone ashore, on a point of land, at the solicitation of a renegado Spaniard, who engaged

M to

* Cordes succeeded, upon the death of Mahu, to the chief command of the fleet which had left the Netherlands in June 1598. See above, p. 97.

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to procure them some provisions, but were all killed by the Indians, who laid wait for them, thinking they were Spaniards; that the Governor of the island, having sent advice to Lima, that these ships would stay for two months, to wait the arrival of other vessels of their company, four ships of war, with seven hundred men on board, and the *Buon Jesus*, were dispatched to attack them; but that a Spanish officer, whom the Governor had appointed to amuse them with promises, having inadvertently dropped some expressions which excited suspicions, the Flemings had sailed before they arrived, and no accounts could be got what route they had taken.

St. Jago.

Noort intended to advance towards St. Jago, the Spanish Pilot having told him that there were two vessels in the harbour; but was overtaken with a calm; and being observed from the mountains, the Spaniards removed out of the ships the most valuable effects. He ordered two boats, well manned, to enter the harbour, when, upon coming closer, were perceived one vessel fully equipped, and two others preparing to sail. They were all seized by the Flemings. One was about one hundred and sixty tons burden, and had on board thirty Indians, who made a vigorous resistance; but the others had been deserted, and nothing was found aboard but some sheep, tallow, wine, hogs, beer, cocoa, and olives. The Admiral put some of his men into one of them, and burnt the other two. The port of St. Jago is about 33 degrees south latitude, and the town eighteen leagues farther up the country. There was only one lodging or warehouse on the shore, where the merchants put the goods which they design to export. The wine and some other articles, they left exposed, as it seldom rains in that country. The wine, of which

which there was great abundance, had the flavour and colour of the red wine of France. This place likewise produced apples and quinces. The principal commodity was sheep, which the natives killed chiefly for the sake of their tallow, of which they exported immense quantities. St. Jago is the capital town of Chili, and the residence of a bishop. The inhabitants make war on horseback, and carry lances in their hands. They had such numbers of horses, that they were running in troops through the fields. All the country of Chili, from St. Jago to Baldivia, which is situated in 40 degrees, is very fertile, and the air healthy.

THE Admiral next proceeded to a bay named *Puerto Lagguasco*, in twenty-eight degrees thirty minutes south latitude, where there was a fine road; and hoped to get fresh water from a river which emptied itself into the bay. But the water was so low, that the river was almost dry, which prevented the boats from entering. Here he discharged the Captain and crew of the *Buon Jesus*, after having engaged them by presents to interest themselves in favour of Dirck Gerritz, commander of the yacht in Cordes fleet, who, he learned, had been reduced to great distress, with only nine men in health aboard his vessel; had gone into the port of St. Jago; been taken prisoner by the Spaniards; and carried to Lima. Noort still kept the Spanish pilot, two black slaves, and two cabin boys, who were Molattoes. When he left Puerto Lagguasco, he burnt the *Los Picos*, one of the prizes he had last taken. The Spanish pilot, who belonged to the *Buon Jesus*, told Noort, that there had been put aboard no less than ten thousand two hundred pounds weight of gold †, which the Captain, upon

M 2

being

† Worth about 2,000,000 pieces of eight. Harris.

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being pursued, had thrown into the sea. He declared that he had set sail from Lima in company with two other vessels, laden with provisions, and having two hundred soldiers on board, who were to be put ashore at Conception; that not having met with Cordes fleet, these two ships had returned to Arica, there to receive the money for the King's use; that the *Buon Jesus* had been ordered to make for the Island of St. Mary, to remain there till the third of March, and, upon the appearance of any stranger vessels, to carry advice immediately to Lima. He likewise confessed, that when his Captain was discharged, it was agreed between them, that he should advise the Flemings to steer for Cape Francois, in order that the Captain might give notice of their route to the ships of war at Lima. This intelligence induced the Admiral to take the resolution of ranging along the coast until he reached the Isle of De los Cocos, in 5 degrees north latitude, where he might supply himself with fresh water, and a quantity of Cocoa, which grew there in great plenty. But, after having sailed near a month without coming in sight of this island, and being further assured by the pilot that the Spanish ships of war would cruize along the whole coast of New Spain, he thought it necessary to change his resolution, and to make for the Philippine islands; but with a design to touch at the Ladrões. In this course, the *Buon Jesus* became unable to keep to sea; she was therefore abandoned, and her crew and provisions, with two brass cannon, put aboard the other vessels.

The Ladrões.

THE fifteenth September, Noort had the view of the Ladrões, called by that name from the character of the inhabitants, who are remarkable for their expertness in cheating, and deceiving strangers. The next day, numbers of canoes appeared,

peared, with four or five men in each, who brought cocoa nuts, bananas, sugar canes, and fish, which they readily exchanged for pieces of old iron, of which they were very fond. The Flemings, notwithstanding all their caution, could not prevent entirely the effects of the art and address of the natives. They seldom came aboard the vessels, but hovered about the sides, and the iron they got for their commodities was handed down to their canoes by ropes. They frequently cheated the Flemings, by presenting baskets which appeared to be full of rice, but when examined, were found to contain leaves, and such other things of no value, with only a little rice put on the top. When they ventured to come on board, they generally stole whatever they could carry away without being observed. One of them snatched a sword out of the hand of a sailor; immediately threw himself into the sea; and in a moment was out of reach. Though some shot was fired at those who had run off with plunder, they were so dextrous at diving that they were not touched. Both men and women go without any other covering than leaves about their middle. The hair of the women was long; that of the men, cut short. Their colour was tawny; many of them were deformed; and some pitted with the small pox. They did not seem to have any regulations restraining the commerce between the sexes.

Noort having entered the Straits of Manilla, Philippines. and touched at the Island of Capul, steered for Manilla, the capital of the Philippines. He learned from the prisoners he took from on board of some barks in the passage, that there were, at that time, in Manilla, two large ships of New Spain, which went every year to Mexico; that the harbour was defended by two forts, but that they were not provided

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Manilla.

provided either with cannon or soldiers ; that the town was surrounded with a strong wall, with ramparts ; that above fifteen thousand Chinese, who carried on several manufactures, lived without the town ; that there arrived, annually, from China, about four hundred vessels laden with silks, and other merchandize, in return for which they carried away silver coin ; and that at this very time, being the beginning of November, two vessels would be expected from Japan laden with iron, flour, tallow, and provisions. When the Flemings approached Manilla, they saw two sail coming out of the harbour. As there was no doubt of their having a hostile design, every thing was prepared for giving them a proper reception. These were the vessels which went every year from Manilla to Mexico. They had been equipped for chasing the Flemings from the coast, where the Spaniards do not allow any other nation to trade ; and were manned with a great number of Indians, who had been taught the use of musquets, and other fire-arms. The Spaniards advanced with great boldness, and a fierce combat ensued. Part of the crew of the foremost boarded the Admiral. After a long struggle, the Flemings began to despair of disengaging themselves, and ran below deck. But upon the Admiral threatening to set fire to the powder, if they did not return to their duty, they made a vigorous attack upon their enemies, and obliged them to retreat. No sooner were the Spaniards got back to their own vessel than she sunk to the bottom. About two hundred endeavoured to save themselves by swimming ; most of them, however, perished in the water, or were killed by the Flemings, who struck them on the head when they came within reach. Noort had seven men killed

killed and twenty-seven wounded *. The *Concord* was in the mean time, at two leagues distance; and it was believed that she was taken by the Spaniards, because she seemed to have her own flag lowered, and that of Manilla erected in its place. Besides, it was not supposed possible, that as she had only twenty-five men aboard, and was likewise much shattered, she could be able to make resistance.

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1601.

THE Admiral immediately directed his course for the Island of Borneo, about one hundred and eighty leagues from Manilla, in order to repair his vessel, which was not in a condition to engage the other Spanish ships, or to bring off the *Concord*. He arrived in the bay of that island the twenty-sixth December, and sent, by a Chinese pilot he had on board, a present to the King with a message, informing him, that he came as a friend, and had no other intention than to take in fresh water and provisions; offering at the same time to employ his ship and crew in his service. Next day, came several Pirogues, or War-barks, carrying fowl, fish, and water. The natives got in exchange, Chinese cloth, or callicoes, of which they appeared very fond, and which the Flemings found aboard the vessels they had taken near Manilla. These Islanders showed no inclination for Flemish cloth or cambrics. The Chinese pilot, attended by one of the King's officers, returned, with an account that the inhabitants of Borneo did not chuse to trust themselves to strangers, being afraid they were Spaniards, with whom they were then at war. But the King's officer, convinced that they had no connection

* Five killed and twenty-six wounded, according to the account taken from the Latin Diary, and inserted in Purchas, Part I. book 2. p. 76. who adds, that the whole company in Noort's ship was but thirty-five, p. 77.

BOOK II.

1601.

nection with the Spaniards, assured them, that their arrival would be very agreeable to his master. The Chinese pilot was again sent ashore, along with the officer, to carry more presents to the King, and to learn if any trade could be begun with the natives. When the pilot came back, he was accompanied by some Chinese merchants from Patana on the coast of Siam, a country subject to its own particular Sovereign, where they now resided, being persons who had either been banished, or had lived formerly by piracy. The inhabitants of Patana, when they found themselves strong at sea, attacked and pillaged every vessel they met with, Chinese as well as others. These merchants brought some pepper, which they offered to sell, but demanded a high price; and, at first said, that they would take nothing in payment but pieces of eight. At last, however, a bargain was made for twenty-eight picos, each pico weighing one hundred and twenty pounds, at the rate of thirteen reals of eight each, one-third of the price to be paid in silver, and the other two-thirds in goods. The Chinese pilot warned Noort to be on his guard, because the natives would probably attack him, and endeavour to seize his vessel, when they saw a proper opportunity. Another Chinese who had begged to be taken on board, that he might be out of the reach of his creditors, added, that great numbers of people were assembled at Borneo. On the first of January 1601, more than a hundred barks surrounded the Admiral's ship. The crews discovered much eagerness to come on board; but their intentions being suspected, not above three persons were allowed at one time. The evening following, three Indians swam towards the ship, with a design to cut her cable; but they were discovered, and obliged to relinquish this enterprize.

A few

A few days after, Noort left a place where he had no hopes of carrying on trade.

BOOK II.

1601.

BORNEO is a large island *. The capital town, of the same name, is situated in a marsh, and the inhabitants use barks in transporting themselves from one house to another. The whole number of houses was about three hundred. The natives lived mostly in the country. Their arms were bows, and long arrows pointed with iron, some of which were poisoned. They understood something of Mahometanism. Polygamy was common, and the men were extremely jealous of their wives. The island abounds in rice; produces the best camphire; and is famous for the Bezouard, a stone found in the entrails of the sheep and goats, and reckoned to be an antidote against poison. There are here likewise some gold and diamonds.

ON the 28th January, Noort anchored before the town of Joartam, in the island of Java, where he repaired his vessel, and got some provisions, and a small quantity of mace. The King of this district was at Passaruan, where he commonly resided. This was the same Prince, who, five years before, was laying siege to Balambuan, when the first ships from the Netherlands were in these parts. He took that town, destroyed its King, and all his race; and was now acknowledged as Sovereign in Joartam, Passaruan, Balambuan, and Sorbaia. The High Priest of the Indians of Java lived at Joartam †. He was a great enemy to the Christians.

Java.

But

* Different accounts are given of the size of Borneo. Some say that it is 250 leagues in circumference: and Templeman that it is 660 miles in length, and 510 in breadth.

† The person who held the office of High Priest, at this time, is said to have been 120 years old; and his only food womens milk, having been, from his infancy, unable to take any other nourishment. Purchas, Part 1. b. 2. p. 78. Recueil.

BOOK II.

1601.

But the King tolerated the Portuguese, and the other Christians, without obliging them to pay any tribute, sensible of the advantages which his own subjects gained by their intercourse with strangers.

THE fourth February, Noort again put to sea, and, next day, discovered a large vessel of about a thousand or twelve hundred tons, which had foundered upon the rocks. A Portuguese, whom Noort had taken on board at Joartam, to serve as an interpreter and pilot, pretended that it was the great Galeon of Malacca, equipped for Amboina, in order to raise the siege which the natives had laid to the Portuguese Fort; and that there was a design to fortify that island, and the islands of Banda and the Moluccas, that no stranger might enter. The Flemings, however, imagined that this vessel was intended to cruise against them, the Portuguese having probably got notice of their arrival. That night they entered the strait between Java Baly, or Little Java, and Great Java; and, steering their course homewards, got into the Road of St. Helen's the twenty-sixth April, where they took in fresh water, some fruits and fish. They again set sail, the thirtieth of that month; and, the twenty-sixth August, arrived at Rotterdam, having finished a dangerous voyage, and which had lasted three years*.

Eight vessels sent to the Indies.

FOUR of the ships which had returned in July 1599, richly laden, from Bantam, were again dispatched in December, and were joined by four more vessels, fitted out by another company. These were called the *Netherlands*, the *United Provinces*,

* Purchas's Pilgrims, p. 1. b. 2. c. 5. p. 71,—78. Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi, &c. tom. 3. p. 1. 153. Pontani Historia Amstelodam: lib. 2. c. 26. Grotii Historia, lib. 10. p. 415.

vinces, the *Nassau*, and the *Court of Holland*, and commanded by Pierre Both, a native of Amersfort. Book II.
1601.
 The two fleets soon separated; and Both, with his ships, arrived first at Bantam, in August 1600. Bantam.
 Being told that there was great plenty of pepper at Prianan, the *United Provinces* and the *Court of Holland* took that route, and Paul van Caerden, Captain of the former, was appointed to the chief command. In their passage, they met with the other fleet making for Bantam. When Caerden arrived at Prianan, he found that he was deceived in his expectations, and that no trade could be carried on there. He, therefore left that place, and went to Ticon, where he was equally unsuccessful. Ticon.
 The natives here committed every kind of fraud. They mixed sand and gravel with the pepper, or wet it, to increase the weight. On one occasion, he was cheated in this manner. He made a bargain with a principal dealer, for a quantity of pepper, for which he gave, in exchange, blue cloth. The Indian some time after returned, brought back the cloth, and demanded money in its place, which was accordingly given him. But when the cloth was examined, it appeared that he had cut off several yards from each piece.

CAERDEN went next to Passanam, three leagues from Ticon, and directly under the line. But he could not continue here, the wind being often so violent that it overset his boats, and prevented him from getting such pepper as was brought by the inhabitants put aboard his ships. He next proceeded to Achin, in 5 degrees and an half of north latitude. Achin.
 Coming there the twenty-first of November, he found, in the harbour, nine vessels from Guzarat, Bengal, and other countries, and a small Portuguese vessel from Malacca, the captain of which pretended to pay him a compliment, by sending a messenger

messenger aboard to congratulate him upon his arrival. Caerden was received by the King of Achin with great appearance of friendship; but, notwithstanding all his professions, could not, for some time, procure any pepper at a reasonable price. After many conferences, a bargain was made for pepper, of the new crop, and for the quantity of one thousand eight hundred barres, to be delivered in four months at farthest. Though Caerden was not bound to make any payment by advance, yet he was so much solicited by the King, that, in two days after, he gave him a thousand pieces of eight, and five pieces of cloth. The twenty-ninth December, five Zealanders, part of those who had been taken in Mucheron's unsuccessful attempt, and kept prisoners ever since, came aboard. They said, that immediately upon Caerden's appearing on the coast, several barks had come to Pedir from Achin, under pretence of collecting pepper; but, instead of this, had furnished themselves with arms; put all their prisoners aboard; carried along with them some more barks from that place; gone to Pasanga; were there reinforced with other barks; and, amounting in all to fourteen, had steered along the coast of Sumorlanga, about fifteen leagues from Pedir, where they proposed to take in fresh water, from thence to make for Malacca, join the King of Achin's fleet, and fall upon the Flemish vessels. These prisoners, when put ashore at Sumorlanga, had escaped in a small bark which they seized.

UPON this intelligence, the Flemings resolved that they would be constantly on their guard; and that Caerden himself should go ashore, to inform the King of the escape of the prisoners, and beg their liberty; but without appearing to know any thing of his hostile intentions. Caerden waited

ed on the King, and professed that he did not pretend to afford protection aboard his vessels, to any prisoners without his Majesty's knowledge, nor would do any thing with which he could have reason to be displeased. His Majesty seemed to be satisfied; granted the fugitives their liberty; and made many declarations of regard and friendship. Notwithstanding, suspicions of his insincerity increased. Three other prisoners had escaped; but he would not consent to allow them their freedom. An audience was sometimes refused to Caerden, while the King held frequent conferences with a priest, an ambassador from the King of Spain. Caerden, afraid of a conspiracy which he apprehended was forming against him, determined to leave the place, but to seize upon all the vessels in the road, in order to make the king either repay the money he had got, or give the pepper, according to contract. This plan he accordingly executed. These vessels amounted to nine in all; aboard three of which was a quantity of pepper. A message was sent to the King explaining the reason of this conduct, and assuring him, at the same time, that Caerden was willing to abide by the terms of the agreement. The Flemings, however, received no satisfaction; but, on the contrary, learned from one of the natives, that there were four vessels in the river, fitting out in the manner of fire ships, which were to be employed against them, in conjunction with all the maritime force of the kingdom. On the twenty-first of January 1601, this account was confirmed, by the whole river being covered with pirogues and jonks. Caerden, seeing that all hopes of carrying on any trade were gone, set sail that night, not without some advantage from his voyage, having got, out of the prizes which he had taken, nearly one half of his lading.

AFTER

BOOK II.

1601.
They re-
turn.

AFTER touching at Ticon, where he took in fresh water, and some provisions, he made for Bantam, and arrived there the nineteenth of March. He was acquainted, by letters left for him, and by some of the crew of Both's squadron, that these vessels had completed their cargoes at this place, and returned to Holland. Caerden thought it prudent to wait upon the Governor, and give him a faithful account of what had passed at Achin, that he might not entertain a bad opinion of him, and that such of his countrymen as Both had left behind might not think he had acted improperly. By the middle of March his cargo was completed, and he set sail homewards. The twenty-seventh August he doubled the Cape of Good Hope; and, stopping at St. Helen's, found letters from Both, who had left that place the twenty-seventh June. He arrived safe at home, having lost twenty-seven of his men in the voyage; but, in their place, brought ten of the prisoners he had taken at Bantam, besides a valuable cargo.

Two other
vessels re-
turn.

Two vessels, the one called the *White Eagle*, the other the *Black Eagle*, each of them about six hundred tons burden, returned likewise this season. Though they had been more unfortunate than some others, by losing a greater number of their crews, partly by the hardships which they suffered, and partly by the treachery of the Indians, they came home richly laden †.

THE

† Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi, &c. tom. 3. p. 154—205, & 378—414. In a book written by a member of the East Company, an extract of which is given in Purchas's Pilgrims, p. 1. b. 5. c. 15. p. 718. it is asserted, that it appeared from the Company's books, that from *anno* 1595 to *an.* 1601, included, they sent out 46 ships, of which 43 had returned richly laden, and brought, all charges deducted, 230 tons of gold, clear gain to the Company.

THE General Estates, now despairing of any success in Flanders, tired of the great expence occasioned by the siege of Ostend, and chiefly attentive to the fate of that town, had allowed their army to remain unemployed since the taking of Rhineberg. But as Ostend was now closely invested, it became necessary to make a vigorous effort. It was proper, some said, that the enemy's country should be invaded, and laid waste with fire and sword. Maurice, on the contrary, thought that this would not make Albert desist from the siege; and advised the attacking some place of importance. Hulst, Grave, or Bois-le-Duc, were mentioned. But Hulst was too difficult to be gained, and Grave was not of sufficient consequence. Maurice preferred the siege of Bois-le-Duc, though it was a large town; would require a numerous army to shut it up; and though, after drawing all the troops out of the garrisons, no more than seven thousand could be collected. But he hoped that Albert, in order to remove the complaints of the inhabitants, would withdraw his troops from Ostend. The Estates, afraid of the expence, proposed that the Island of Cadtsand should be strongly fortified, and an attempt made to gain Sluys, and the gallies in that harbour. They persuaded Maurice to go along with some of the Deputies to Zealand, and examine how far this scheme was practicable. But, upon enquiry, the same objection occurred, as no less a sum than two hundred thousand florins would be required for erecting the necessary fortifications.

BOOK II.

1601.

An attempt upon Bois-le-Duc proposed.

November.

THE siege of Bois-le-Duc was therefore, determined. Maurice easily got possession of all the avenues leading to the town, and carried on his entrenchments without any opposition from the garrison, which consisted only of two companies of foot

The siege is begun,

BOOK II.
 1601.
 foot and two troops of horse, under the command of Anthony Grobbendonck; the citizens having always undertaken their own defence, and refused to admit the Spanish soldiers. Not only the Magistrates, but the Priests, of whom there were great numbers in the town, incited them to make an obstinate resistance; reminding them of the bravery of their ancestors, who had often expelled the people of Gueldres from the frontiers of Brabant, and exhorting them to continue firm in supporting the true religion which they professed. Maurice fixed his quarters opposite to one of the gates, where the besieged, with great industry, had raised a battery. William and Ernest encamped on the other side of the town. From both of these stations, it was hoped the siege could be carried on by sapping; for Maurice had with him no more than seventy-three companies of foot and thirty troops of horse, too small an army for investing a place of such extent.

but is raised.
 Nov. 27.

THE inhabitants immediately gave Albert intelligence of their danger, and begged his assistance. He was unwilling to raise the siege of Ostend, but could not refuse altogether their repeated entreaties. He, therefore, dispatched Frederic de Berg with seven thousand foot and one thousand five hundred horse, with express orders to relieve Bois-le-Duc. Berg, in order to favour this design, spread a report, that he intended to fortify the town of Helmont, four leagues distant. But when he came near, he detached Giacomo Belgiofo, Commissary General of the horse, with one thousand horse and eight hundred foot, in the night time, and by a road not observed by the besiegers, almost all of whom got into Bois-le-Duc before Maurice knew of their arrival. A few only who were in the rear, were killed or taken prisoners.

prisoners. The citizens acted with great spirit, and were encouraged by a declaration from Albert, that any damage done to the property of private persons should be repaid out of the public revenue. When Maurice had brought his works to the very ditch, and was preparing his mines, a hard frost began sooner than usual, which froze all the waters, rendered it more difficult to procure supplies, and which, being so intense that the soldiers could not keep guard, cut off all hopes of succeeding. He was obliged, therefore, very contrary to his inclination, to break up his camp, in the end of November, afraid that, during the frost, Berg might make an irruption into Holland. As he was, by this means, likewise deprived of the use of his ships, he sent as much of his baggage by land to Heusden as he could find waggons to carry, and burned the rest †.

Book II.
1601.

THE season was so very cold, that Albert once determined to withdraw his army from Ostend, and to block it up, during the winter, by erecting a number of forts. But the States of Flanders, by promising an additional sum of money, prevailed with him to continue; and, as Bois-le-Duc was now relieved, he was enabled to push the siege more briskly. While he was thus employed, one Coningsby, an Englishman, Captain of a company in his service, engaged to betray the town to the Spaniards. Upon being assured of an ample reward for so signal a service, he left Flanders, and went through France into England, where he procured letters of recommendation to Vere. In consequence of these, he came to Ostend, and was treated with respect by the Governor. By
N degrees,

Continuation of the
siege of
Ostend.

† Carnero, lib. 15, c. 3. Bentivoglio, p. 3. lib. 6. Grotius, p. 412. Haræus.

degrees, he gained over a few soldiers to take part with him in his treacherous design. Meeting, one day, with a serjeant, who had, for some crime, been a long time confined in prison, complaining of Vere's conduct to him, and uttering some threatnings, Coningsby opened the project to him likewise. The serjeant promised to assist, and a plan was concerted, that he should set fire to the magazine, to which he had daily access; that both, with their other associates, should seize upon a sluice, near the entrenchments; and, by giving the Spaniards previous intimation, prepare them for entering the town. When this scheme was settled, the serjeant refused to be farther concerned, until he received a writing under Coningsby's hand, certifying from whom he was to receive the recompence he demanded. This was accordingly given him; but he carried it to Vere, and discovered the whole plot. Coningsby was apprehended, and made a full confession §. The garrison, in the mean time, suffered greatly, and was reduced from seven thousand to three thousand men. Vere was so much discouraged, that he begged of Maurice to be allowed to return to England. Albert, likewise, felt many hardships from the inclemency of the weather; and despairing of being able to shut up the town entirely, resolved to make a more close attack.

VERE, receiving intelligence of Albert's intention from a prisoner, and dreading the consequences, now that he had so few men to defend his works, that his provisions were almost exhausted, and, by reason of contrary winds, no vessels could arrive with a supply, made a short truce with the enemy, unknown to the other officers of the garrison; and,

§ Baudart, les Guerres de Nassau descriptes, tom. 2. p. 329.

and, by mutually exchanging hostages, gave the Arch Duke hopes of a speedy surrender. But a mutiny arose among Vere's soldiers on this account and he was obliged to send away the hostages. He told his officers, in vindication of his conduct, that his only view was to protract the time, until he should get a reinforcement of troops, and a fresh supply of provisions. All agreed, that in order to secure the safety of their own hostages, they should endeavour to entice some of the principal persons in the Spanish camp into the town, and amuse them with proposals for a capitulation. Accordingly, this scheme was prosecuted; and Rivas, Governor of Sluys, and Serjeant-Major of the enemy's army, came to learn on what terms Vere would surrender. Vere insisted, that the garrison should be allowed to march out with their arms, baggage, and all the honours of war; that they should carry along with them their cannon, ammunition, and provisions; and that the Arch Duke should pay a large sum of money to the soldiers. All these conditions were readily granted, except the last, which Vere had purposely added to prevent an agreement. During the truce, Isabella herself came to Ostend, with a numerous train of attendants, curious to see the operations of a siege which was become famous, and expecting to enter the town in triumph. When affairs were in this situation, a fleet arrived from Zealand, having on board five companies of soldiers, and great abundance of provisions and warlike stores. Vere told the Spanish Commissioners, that necessity alone had forced him to talk of a capitulation; but now that he had got a reinforcement, he was bound in duty to keep the town as long as he could. The Commissioners were dismissed; the truce ended; hostilities again commenced, to the great mortification, not only of Albert, but of

Book II.

1601.

BOOK II. the whole Province of Flanders; and the fate of
 1602. Ostend, once thought to have been determined,
 was for some time delayed.

The Spaniards make
 an unsuccessful as-
 fault.
 January 9.

NOTWITHSTANDING the disappointment which Albert had received, and the unfavourable season, the year 1602 being now begun, he continued to carry on the siege with vigour. He ordered a battery to be erected opposite to that part of the town which had been damaged by a tempest, and an assault to be made in the evening, when the water would be at the lowest. Different detachments were posted in the most convenient stations. Bucquoy was appointed to cross the channel, on the side of Bredene, and attack the town on the east; and the whole army was divided into several bodies, ready to support the assailants wherever assistance should be necessary. The Spaniards advanced very briskly to the charge, broke down the palisadoes, and were ready to scale the walls, when Vere, who had got intelligence from a deserter of their design, and made every preparation for giving them a warm reception, seeing the town was in danger of being taken by storm, opened two sluices, and laid the flat ground, which the enemy was obliged to cross, under water. By this means their powder was spoiled, and many of them drowned; neither could Bucquoy pass the channel, which was deeper than had been imagined. Bucquoy was therefore obliged to retire, leaving behind him above 600, killed or wounded. Among the dead, was the body of a woman in the military habit. There were found on her a gold chain, set with precious stones, and several other jewels. Though the weather was excessively cold, and many of Albert's officers advised him to give over the siege, he would not desist, thinking his honour was too deeply engaged to relinquish
 an

an enterprize which he had been so much solicited to undertake. He himself went to Ghent, and left the conduct of the siege to Rivas, an experienced officer, with orders to raise some new platforms, the principal of which were one on the St. Albert's side, to annoy the Old Town, and another, on the quarter next Bredene, which might be advanced as far as to command the Great Channel, and prevent the besieged from receiving succours by sea. But though both these were erected, and the latter at a prodigious expence of money and labour, being built upon piles, yet ships came frequently into the town with reinforcements of troops, and supplies of provisions.

BOOK II.

1602.

THE General Estates, not only anxious to preserve a town of such importance as Ostend, but fired with the hope of gaining glory by baffling Albert's attempt, and perceiving that the siege would probably last long, resolved that the garrison should be relieved every six months. Accordingly Frederick Dorp was sent as successor to Vere. As the safety of the town depended upon preserving the communication with the sea, a new harbour was formed between the Old Town and the Channel, into which ships could be brought at all times. The ruins were repaired; the fortifications were strengthened; and money was supplied in abundance. Albert, on the other hand, felt many inconveniencies from the want of money to pay his troops. The sums furnished by the province of Flanders were not equal to the expence; the Walloons, that they might excuse themselves from contributing largely, pretended that they could not confide in the peace made with France; and the province of Brabant used as an apology a mutiny of the soldiers at Waert, who, with the assistance of some others, had lately almost surprised

Feb. 28.

BOOK II. surprised the castle of Antwerp and the town of Hulst.

1602.

Prepara-
tions by the
Confede-
rates for an
irruption
into Brabant
and Flan-
ders.

THE United Provinces were, in the mean time, making great preparations. New levies were raised *, both in England and Germany, and the French companies augmented. It was resolved to make an irruption into Brabant and Flanders; to lay these Provinces under contribution; and, by this means, oblige Albert to quit the siege of Ostend. It was hoped, that some place of importance might be taken, before the troops from Italy, under the command of Spinola, which Albert expected, could arrive. Public prayers were offered for success to this expedition; and letters were written, addressed to the Nobility, Prelates, and other inhabitants of the Provinces subject to Albert, encouraging them to revolt. The Confederates represented to them, that the Spaniards had no other intention than to reduce them to slavery; that Albert enjoyed no more than an empty title; and that now was the time, when his troops were in disorder, and few of them remained in the garrisons, to shake off the yoke. They called upon them to join their endeavours in restoring public freedom, and to assist the common cause by liberal contributions of money. They earnestly besought them to embrace so favourable an opportunity of obtaining both liberty and peace; and assured them, that there was no design of depriving them of any of their rights or privileges; but that, on the contrary, they should have it in their power to establish such a form of government, with respect both to civil and ecclesiastical

* Count Solms, having gone to Germany to make the new levies, died at Arnspurg, in Westphalia, 24th February. Ens.

diastical matters, as was most agreeable to themselves. Maurice immediately collected the whole army, which, when mustered, was found to amount to eighteen thousand foot, and five thousand horse *. It marched in three bodies; one in the middle, led by Count William of Nassau; one on the right, by Vere; and the third on the left, where Maurice himself was, by Count Ernest of Nassau.

BOOK II.

1602.

June.

ALBERT no sooner heard that the Confederates were making ready their army for the field, than he sent Mendoza from Ostend, with a considerable body of troops, to watch their motions. He was joined by the mutineers at Waert, whom he had pacified; and, by that means, his army amounted to upwards of five thousand foot and four thousand horse. Ambrose, Marquis of Spinola, had likewise raised eight thousand men in Italy, and, having come to Ghent, was appointed to follow the Admiral. Accordingly, both encamped near Tillemont. Maurice, after passing the Maese at Nimeguen, marched through the country of Liege, and when he came in sight of the enemy, found them so strongly entrenched, that it was impracticable to force them from their quarters. He often attempted to provoke them to battle; but they always declined. Maurice was very much disappointed, as he could not possibly advance any farther. He thought it prudent to retreat; but, unwilling that his army should return without attempting any thing, he sat down before Grave, a town situated on the Maese, and in the territory of Cuick.

Maurice
besieges
Grave.
July 22.

* This is the number assigned by Grotius and Baudart. Bentivoglio and Hæreus say, that there were 24,000 foot and 6000 horse; and Carnero, 25,000 foot and 5000 horse; neither of which is so probable.

BOOK II. 1602. Cuick. He took his own station on the lower part of the river; Vere lay on the upper part; and Count William on the side towards Brabant. Two bridges were thrown cross the river, and a strong entrenchment cast round the whole camp. The first attack was made upon a redoubt on the other side of the Maese, and which commanded a pass of some consequence. It was soon deserted by the garrison, and afterwards proved of great advantage to the besiegers. The officers in the Catholic camp were much perplexed what course to take. It appeared very difficult to relieve Grave, and still more so to cause a diversion by laying siege to any of the enemy's towns, as, for this purpose, the army must pass the Maese, and be provided with great store of victuals and ammunition. Mendoza, afraid to pursue Maurice, and being in want of every thing necessary, went to the Arch Duke to receive his orders. Much time was thus lost; and even the Arch Duke himself did not give him any particular instructions; only recommended to him to take care, lest, when the army was at a distance, the Confederates should with their fleet invade Flanders.

It surren-
ders.
Sept. 18.

MENDOZA, having determined to march to the relief of Grave, and come in sight of the Confederates camp, observed that they were so well fortified, that the only place where an attack could be made was between the quarters of Maurice and William. Spades, ladders, and other necessary implements, were got ready: One body, of a thousand foot, was detached in the night-time, in order to force the trenches, and, if possible, to open a passage into the town. Another body, of the same number, was appointed to support the assailants, and the Marquis Spinola to make a feigned attack on an opposite side. But before they had
got

got over the marshy ground, day-light appeared, and they found the guards so well prepared to oppose them, that they thought proper to retire. Mendoza, after this, despaired of forcing the camp, and drew off his army. It was suspected that he would march to Rhineberg, and, on that account, Count Ernest was dispatched to reinforce the garrison. But he stopped at Venlo, where he endeavoured to introduce some of his troops. The citizens, however, would not admit them. Anthony Gonzales, Governor of Grave, had with him one thousand five hundred men; and, though thus deserted by Mendoza, made frequent sallies. Maurice, notwithstanding, advanced his works to the very walls; and Gonzales, after sustaining a siege of two months, surrendered upon honourable conditions*.

GRAVE once belonged to the Province of Gueldres, but was afterwards annexed to Brabant. William, Prince of Orange, bought it from Maximilian, Count Buren, his father-in-law, to whom it had been pledged; and though he lost it by the war, recovered it again at the pacification, when the German garrison was removed. It was again lost, eighteen years ago, by the carelessness of the Governor, and put into the possession of the Duke of Parma. Now, Maurice was solemnly inaugurated as Lord of the town of Grave, and territory of Cuick. The great church was cleared of the images, and thanksgivings offered for the conquest. This was all the fruit of a campaign from which high expectations had been formed. Maurice returned

Maurice inaugurated
Lord of
Grave.

* Carnero says, that 1600 soldiers of different nations, and two companies of Spaniards, formed the garrison; that 900 men died in the defence of the town; that the Confederates lost 4000, and had as many wounded.

BOOK II. turned to the Hague, and dismissing the German
 1602. horse, put his army into quarters.

A mutiny
 in the Spa-
 nish army.

ALBERT distributed his troops, partly in the camp at Ostend, partly in Spinola's gallies, and partly in such places as might check a most dangerous mutiny, which had arisen among the Italians. They chose a General, and, after having in vain attempted to get into Dieft, possessed themselves of the castle of Hoochstrate, where their number greatly encreased. The Arch Duke declared them traitors and rebels; upon which they fortified the town and castle. The General Estates, willing to encourage this disorder among the enemy's troops, furnished them with provisions, arms, and cannon. The citizens of Venlo, likewise alarmed with the taking of Grave, at last agreed to admit a gar-
 rison *.

DURING the winter, fourteen troops of horse, belonging to the United States, surprized, near Maestricht, eight Spanish troops, most of whom were taken prisoners. Count Lewis of Nassau, with thirty-three troops of horse, and one thousand two hundred foot, took the town of Vit, in the province of Luxemburgh, and ravaged such part of the country as refused to give contributions †.

Defeat of
 Spinola's
 gallies.

ELIZABETH fitted out, this year, eight men of war, and sent them, under the command of Sir Richard Lewson and Sir William Monson, to cruize on the coast of Spain. Lewson first set sail with five ships of this fleet, leaving Monson behind with the rest, to wait for twelve more, which the Con-
 federates

* Carnero, lib. 15. c. 5 & 6. Bentivoglio, p. 3. l. 7. Grotius, p. 422. &c. Baudart. Haræus.

† Grotius, p. 425.

federates had engaged to furnish for this expedition. He met with thirty-eight Spanish ships from America, but, on account of his inferior force, allowed them to pass. When he was afterwards joined by Monson, who had in vain waited for the Flemings, they were informed of a rich carrack, and eleven gallies lying in the road of Cerimbra, in Portugal. Three of these gallies belonged to the Portuguese, and eight of them to Frederic Spinola, which he had persuaded Philip to send to the Netherlands, and which carried nine hundred troops, besides one thousand five hundred slaves. The English fleet found the carrack lying close by the shore, and the gallies placed to great advantage, being defended by the fort and a small neck of rock on the west side of the road, and all ready to give them a warm reception. The English, however, advanced, and resolved to attack the town, fort, carrick, and gallies, all at once. The assault was so furious that the carrack yielded, and two of Spinola's gallies were taken and burnt. Spinola, with the six others, escaped. He was attacked on the English coast by two English men of war, and four belonging to the Confederates. After an obstinate engagement, two of his gallies sunk; another, by the unskilfulness of the pilot, was wrecked on the coast of Calais; two got into Nieuport; and the sixth, aboard which was Spinola himself, into Dunkirk *.

BOOK II.

1602.

THE wealth brought into the Confederated Provinces by the late voyages to the East Indies, rendered the trade to these countries a principal object of attention. But the interference of the several adventurers was attended with many disadvantages. Their

An East India Company erected, March.

* Monson's Naval Tracts, book I. Thyssii Historia Navalis, cap. 31. Camden. Bentivoglio. Haræus.

BOOK II. Their ships often meeting in the same ports, enhanced the price of the commodities in the purchase, while the price at home was reduced. Some of the Companies which had hitherto subsisted, had gained nothing, and others had actually lost by their attempts *. When their vessels were thus separated and disjoined, they were less able to resist the Spaniards and Portuguese, who used every effort to exclude them from all share of this commerce. On these accounts, they were erected by the General Estates into one company; an exclusive privilege was granted for twenty-one years †; Directors were chosen; six chambers formed for the management of its affairs; and a time fixed, within which such as chused to be concerned, should enroll their names, and pay in their respective shares. Every person was allowed to be a partner, and to subscribe what sum he pleased, not exceeding fifty thousand florins in the name of one person. The Company, however, was still dependent upon the authority of the General Estates, and obliged, as often as the charter should be renewed, to pay a certain sum of money, which was declared to be part of the public finances, and certain duties on exportation and importation. The first stock, or capital, amounted to near six millions and a half of florins; and was divided into actions or shares of three thousand florins each, which

* Ricard Traite general du Commerce.

† Grotius says, twenty years; but Pontanus, "Introduction au Recueil," and particularly, Janicon, who is probably more accurate, say, twenty-one years. Every ten years an account was to be given. At the first account, the proprietors were left at liberty to withdraw, and to have their money returned, with, at least, $7\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. of interest — Introduction au Recueil des Voyages.

which were transferable †. The Company paid Book II.
for their first charter twenty-five thousand florins, 1602.
and a duty of three *per cent.* on all goods exported,
except bullion. It was agreed, that in fitting out
a fleet, the Chamber of Amsterdam, which alone
furnished above seven-twelfths of the whole capital,
should

† The first stock was furnished by the following Chambers,
in the proportion following, *viz.*

	According to Janicon.	According to Ricard.
Amsterdam - Florins.	3,674,915	3,686,430
Middleburgh, or Zealand,	1,333,882	1,275,653
Delft, - - -	470,000	466,562
Rotterdam, - -	177,400	174,562
Horn, - - -	266,868	268,430
Enckhuisen, - -	536,775	568,563
	6,459,840	6,440,200

The profits of this company were amazing. The lowest dividend that was made any year, from its commencement to the year 1728, where Janicon's account finishes, was $12\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.* In the year 1606, it amounted to 75, and often was 30, 40, and 50 *per cent.* Janicon says, that a share, which originally cost only 3000 florins, was worth, at the time that he wrote, from 25 to 26,000 florins, and afforded a reasonable interest to the purchaser. At the same period, the Chamber of Amsterdam alone ordinarily employed 1200 men in their magazines, building and equipping vessels. Janicon, *Etat present de la Republique des Provinces Unies, a la Haye, 1755. tom. 1. chap. 12.* In the year 1610, according to Janicon's account, there was a dividend of 50 *per cent.*; but according to Ricard's, of $132\frac{1}{2}$; to wit, in April, 75, in mace; in November, 50, in pepper; and in December, $7\frac{1}{2}$, in silver. In December 1612, Janicon says, there was a dividend of $57\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.*; but Ricard, that besides this, there was a dividend in March, the same year, of 30 *per cent.* The dividends were paid sometimes in money, and sometimes in spices. It may be observed, that from the year 1605, when the first dividend was made, to the year 1728, no dividends were made for 28 of the years during that space; but that, at a medium, they amounted to somewhat more than $24\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.*; and of consequence, upon an original stock of about 650,000 pounds Sterling, there had been divided, in the course of 123 years, more than nineteen millions and a half Sterling.

BOOK II.

1602.

should contribute one half of the whole expence; that of Middleburg, a fourth; and the Chambers of Delft, Rotterdam, Horne, and Enckhuysen, each a sixteenth part. Each of these Chambers was composed of a certain number of Managers, or Directors, who had stated salaries from one thousand two hundred florins, to three thousand florins, a-year. In some cases, one share was a sufficient qualification to entitle any person to be chosen a Director; in others, two were required †. Directors for the towns of Dort, Haerlaem, Leyden, and Gouda, and for the Provinces of Gueldres and Friseland, sat in the Chamber of Amsterdam; those for the towns of Zealand, and the Province of Groninghen, in the Chamber of Middleburg; those for the Province of Overysse, in the Chamber of Delft; for the town of Dort, in the Chamber of Rotterdam; for the town of Alkmaar, in the Chamber of Horn; and for the Nobles of Holland, in that of Enckhuysen. Each Chamber had the choice of its own Directors; and when any of them died, a list was made, by plurality of voices, of three, and presented to the Magistrates of the town, or to the States of the Provinces, out of which they chose one. Each had the entire direction of its own affairs; equipped the vessels; fixed the number of sailors and soldiers to be employed; named the officers; and regulated the quantity and quality of the goods to be exported. Out of these six chambers was formed another, composed of seventeen Directors, eight of whom were deputed from the Chamber of Amsterdam, four from that of

† By a regulation of the States of Holland, *anno* 1656, two shares, at least, were made necessary for a qualification; and those who were related in the third, or even the fourth degree of affinity, could not be chosen; nor none under twenty-five years of age. *Janicon Etat.* tome 1. p. 324.

of Middleburg, one from each of the Chambers of Delft, Rotterdam, Horn, and Enckhuysen, and one chosen by these four last Chambers in turns. Their meetings were appointed to be held three times in the year; for six successive years at Amsterdam; for the two following, at Middleburg; and then at Amsterdam again in the same manner. At these meetings the sales of goods imported, the Company's dividend, and the number of ships to be sent, were settled; and answers returned to letters from the East Indies. Matters of importance, concerning which the Directors could not agree among themselves, were to be referred to the decision of the General Estates. The Company might make treaties, in the name of the General Estates, with the Indian nations; build forts; name the Governors; maintain troops; and appoint officers of justice; these officers to take an oath of fidelity to the General Estates, and the Company; and the fleet, at its return, to make a report to the General Estates *.

BOOK II.

1602.

THE first fleet fitted out by this new Company consisted of fourteen large ships, and a yacht. Six of the ships, and the yacht, were furnished by the Chamber of Amsterdam; three, by the Chamber of Middleburg; one, by the Chamber of Delft; two, by the Chamber of Rotterdam; and two, by that of Enckhuysen. They were well provided with cannon and ammunition, and had on board ten thousand men. The equipment of this fleet cost, in money, one million seven hundred and thirty-eight thousand three hundred and twenty-eight florins; in value of merchandize, one million one hundred

* *Traité General du Commerce, &c.* par Samuel Ricard; a Amsterdam, 1732, 4to. Janicon *Etat present*, tome 1. chap. 12. Pontani *Hist. Amst.* lib. 2 cap. 26. Grotius, p. 429. *Aver-tissement au Recueil des Voyages.*

BOOK II. 1603. hundred and fifteen thousand nine hundred and forty-three; and for insurance, two thousand four hundred and seventy-four florins. It likewise carried the value of eight hundred and eighteen thousand seven hundred and sixty-eight florins, in reals, from forty-six to forty-seven sous each; and two hundred forty-seven thousand five hundred, in rose nobles, of eight one-fourth florins each. Wybrandt Van Waarwyk was appointed Admiral, and Sebald de Weert Vice-Admiral. Weert, with three of the vessels, was destined to go first to Ceylon, and then to Achin; two were ordered for the Molucca Islands; two for China; three for Achin directly; and four for Bantam in Java. Weert first left the harbour, and the rest followed soon afterwards. Contrary winds detained them for some time on the coast, but the tenth July, the whole fleet set sail†.

The Castle
of Wachten-
donck sur-
prised.
March 5.

EARLY in the spring, Henry de Berg formed a plan of taking the Castle of Wachtendonck by surprise. Knowing that Ryhoven, the Governor, had only a small garrison, he bribed one Peelhase, a fisherman, to carry fifteen soldiers of the garrison of Venlo to the town privately, in his boat. They were accordingly put on board, and concealed under some straw. When Peelhase came before the Castle, he desired the centinel, who happened to be a person with whom he was well acquainted, to give him his hand, and assist him in getting upon the bridge. He did so; but Peelhase drew him into the water, and stabbed him with a dagger. The soldiers immediately rushed out of the boat, and, commanded by Dulkan, Governor of Stralen, in Gueldres, an old and valiant officer, killed the guard; took possession of the Castle; admitted a number of troops, who had been drawn from the neighbouring

† Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi, &c. tome 4. p. 167.

neighbouring garrisons to favour the enterprize; and raised the draw-bridge, to prevent any people from the town getting access. The garrison in the town, however, raised a battery against the Castle, and had begun to play upon it, when two troops of the Confederates horse, passing that way by accident, and hearing the noise, came to their assistance. They were soon reinforced by more troops from Rhineberg and Mœurs; and in six days obliged the Spaniards, who began to be in want of provisions, and had no hopes of procuring a supply, to surrender*.

Book II.

1603.

but is recovered.

THE death of Queen Elizabeth, which happened the 24th March O. S. 1603, was an event which sensibly affected the Confederates. They had been much indebted to her assistance; and though she made no express declaration of war against Philip, yet she kept him employed, during the last twenty years, by almost constant hostilities. The temper and character of her successor, James, King of Scotland, gave them no reason to expect from him the like friendship. He was naturally of a pacific disposition; was strongly attached to Spain; and had declared, immediately upon his accession, that the conduct of the Queen towards Philip was the effect of a personal animosity. The Confederates farther knew, that his sentiments of them were very unfavourable. Entertaining high notions of the royal authority; considering every degree of resistance as unlawful; and detesting their republican form of government, he regarded them as rebels, who had withdrawn their obedience from their rightful Sovereign. The General Estates, anxious to gain, if possible, his favour, first sent

O

letters

Death of Q.
Elizabeth,
and accession
of James.
March 24.

* Carnero, lib. 15. c. 7. Grotius, p. 438. Baudart, tome 2. p. 367. Haræus. Ens.

BOOK II.
1603.

letters congratulating him upon his accession to the Throne; and afterwards, a splendid embassy, consisting of Henry brother to Maurice, Brederode, Oldenbarneveldt, and Valck. After paying the usual compliments, they begged that he would follow the steps of the late Queen, in aiding the just cause in which the Confederates were engaged, and giving a check to the ambition and tyranny of Philip. They met with a very cold reception; and had the mortification to hear a proclamation issued within three months after his arrival in England, recalling the letters of reprisals which the Queen had granted to several private persons to cruise against the Spaniards, and ordering that all prizes, taken after the twenty-fourth of April, should be restored. Henry IV. of France, willing, likewise, to detach James from the interest of Spain, sent as his ambassador, Maximilian de Bethune, Marquis of Rosny, afterwards Duke of Sully, to renew the defensive alliance made with the Queen. This able statesman had the address to prevail with him to sign a treaty. The Arch Duke Albert not only dispatched Charles Count Aremberg to London, but, in order to recommend himself to the new King, discharged any injury to be done to the English, and sent home all such of that nation as were formerly his prisoners. So great, however was the influence of Rosny over James, that Aremberg did not get an audience of the King until the Marquis was gone back to France. But the States Ambassadors evidently perceived that James would make peace with Spain, and were obliged to rest satisfied with endeavouring to cause a delay, by giving hopes that, in process of time, the Confederates might procure from Philip both a reasonable peace, and the security of their liberties. They obtained, by the assistance of Rosny, that, of whatever money Henry should advance for the Confederates,

Confederates, James should be charged with a third part, to be stated to the repayment of the debt which France, during her wars, had contracted to England *.

BOOK II.

1603.

By the return of some of the ships sent to the East Indies, under Harmensen, in company with Heemskerck and Grenier, in the year 1601, the merchants learned, that the prudent regulations which they had prescribed, in order that the whole fleet might prosecute the voyage together, had not been strictly observed, or could not be put into execution. These vessels kept in company until the eighth of May, when Harmensen was separated from the others. On the sixth June, he took a vessel from Villo Nova, laden with wine and almonds, and destined

Return of
some ships
from the
Indies.

O 2

tined

* Birch's View of the Negotiations, p. 205—217. Grotius, p. 431—434. Ens. When James, afterwards, in August, sent Sir Ralph Winwood to be admitted a member of the Council of State, he told the States, that a proposition had been made to him, on the part of the Arch Duke, for a treaty, concerning which he would not resolve without giving them previous information.—King's Letters, in Memorials of Affairs of State, collected from the papers of Sir Ralph Winwood, published by Sawyer, vol. 2. p. 1. and 8. At the same time, he told Aremberg, "That as nothing could be of more prejudice, or give more interruption to the good intelligence he wished to maintain with all the princes with whom he was in friendship, than the agreements formerly made with the United Provinces, he desired that the Arch Dukes would give a commission to treat, either conjunctly with the Provinces, or separately: That he would send and learn their intentions, which he was obliged by honour and promise to do; and that if they refused to join, this would not hinder him to proceed without them."—The Lords of the Privy Council, in their letter to Winwood, 10th August, tell him, That his Majesty desired to be speedily advertised of the States resolution, because he may not be forced longer to defer the same that standeth with his honour, considering how far he is engaged by his last resolution upon the Count of Aremberg's last audience."—*Ibid.* p. 2. and 3.

BOOK II.

1603.

tinued for Fernambuc. The crew said, that seven galleons, or carracks, with a number of soldiers on board, had left Lisbon, bound for the East Indies, and that two others were ready to follow. He dismissed the vessel, and even furnished the crew with some provisions. Two days after, Grenier, who acted as Vice Admiral of the other fleet, under Heemskerk, joined Harmensen. He reported, that on the nineteenth of May, when they were in 24 degrees, they fell in with a fleet of thirteen Spanish vessels; and that the Vice Admiral of this squadron, immediately advanced towards them, and had almost taken one of their vessels, but was obliged to retire, being much damaged by the shot of his own and Heemskerk's ship which came to her relief. Next night, Grenier was left alone, and found himself in the morning in the middle of eleven Spanish ships. In this situation, his only remedy was flight; and, though he was chased by the Spaniards all that day, he happily made his escape, without being able to hear ever since of the rest of his ships. On the twenty-ninth June, Harmensen crossed the line; and, after steering southward for twelve days, ordered, that if any of his vessels observed an island, they should make a signal to cast anchor, and endeavour to procure some provisions; and that, from thence they should make directly for Java, without stopping at any other place. But he afterwards resolved to steer eastward, that they might reach the island of Maurice. On the nineteenth September, in 20 degrees 6 minutes, south latitude, they came in sight of land, which they imagined to be that island; but which, upon sending some of their boats ashore, they discovered to be the island of Diego Rodriguez, in 19 degrees 45 minutes, south latitude. They could not find here any safe harbour. Almost all the coast was surrounded with a chain

chain of rocks. On the east side, was a bank that run out into the sea; and on the west side another, in the middle of which was a small island. On the north side, there was an opening in the rocks, through which a single vessel, if not very large, might pass. Two boats went through it, and found from twelve to twenty-five fathoms water. It was believed, that they were considerably to the eastward of the Island of Maurice; they therefore left this place, and steering west, in 20 degrees 27 minutes, came in sight of it, the twenty-sixth September, and next day anchored on the south-west point. The boats were put ashore, and soon after returned with an account that they saw no fresh water. The crew called this point the *Cape of Poison*, because they got some fish which made them all extremely sick. As it did not afford convenient anchoring, the boats were again dispatched, and found, at last, a good road, and fresh water. After staying here a short time, they again set sail; from the fourth of October, met with variable winds, which often obliged them to alter their course, until they entered the strait of Bantam; and, the twenty-sixth of December, came opposite to the town of Palimban. Here they were visited by a Chinese pirogue, from the crew of which they learned, that there was, at that time, before Bantam, a Portuguese fleet of thirty sail, eight of them galleons, from six hundred to eight hundred tons burthen, twelve gallies, and the rest frigates; all well armed, under the command of Don Andrea Furtado de Mendoza, and collected from Goa, Cochin, and Malacca, with a design to besiege that town by sea and land, and to prevent the Flemings from obtaining liberty to trade.

THIS intelligence, at first, much alarmed Har-
mensen. But, notwithstanding the very great su-
periority

BOOK II.
1603.

Island of
Maurice.

Palimban.

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1603.

An Engage-
ment with
the Portu-
guese fleet.

periority of the Portuguese, he determined with the unanimous consent of his officers, to attack them, and endeavour to raise the siege. After offering up prayers to God for success, clearing the decks, and throwing overboard every thing useless and cumbersome, he set sail; and next day, was in sight of the Portuguese fleet. Two of the galleons were stationed, as an advanced guard, on the west side of the Island of Pulo Pensano. Some of the other vessels came towards the Flemings, expecting to make an easy conquest. But they were warmly received, and would probably have been taken, had not the Admiral's ship been disabled by the bursting of one of his cannon, which deprived him of the use of his rudder. Brower, who acted as his Vice Admiral, not knowing of this accident, still continued to fight, and assaulted one of the enemy's ships with such fury, that, astonished with this unexpected resistance, they all retired, and anchored under the island. The Flemings cast anchor under another island, to repair the damage they had sustained. The twenty-eighth, the weather was so rough, that they could not manage either their sails or cannon. It was thought proper to write a letter to the King of Bantam, informing him of what had passed; but the boat could not get ashore. The following day, Harmensen made another attack, and with such success, that he took two of the Portuguese ships, which he afterwards burnt. He learned from the prisoners, that there were aboard the fleet, eight hundred Portuguese soldiers, besides the crew, who were mostly Indians. The thirtieth, the Portuguese kept along the coast of Java; and, tho' they had the advantage of the wind, made no other attempt against the Flemings, except converting two of their gallies into fire-ships, which failed of having any effect. They likewise took the crew
out

out of two of their smaller vessels, and then sunk them. A calm prevented any thing being done the following day; but the first January 1602, Harmensen bore down upon the Spaniards, and from their motions, at first, it was thought that they would come to an engagement. Their Admiral hoisted the red flag; but his men were averse to a combat, and allowed the Flemings to pass forward to Bantam. When they arrived, they were received with as much joy by the inhabitants, as they had acquired honour by their brave conduct. They had only one man killed, and several wounded. The remains of the Portuguese fleet proceeded to Amboina, where they exercised many cruelties on the inhabitants, on account of the favour that they had shown the Flemings, and destroyed great numbers of the clove trees.

Bantam.

HARMENSEN staid at Bantam until the twelfth day of the month, when the damage done to his ships was repaired; and though he might have got a cargo here, yet he proceeded in the voyage towards the Moluccas. He stopped at Jacatra, where he took in some provisions, and gave the King a present sent him by Maurice. The seventeenth of February, he anchored in the Road of Ternate, one of the Molucca islands; and, leaving it on the seventh of March, came, on the fourteenth, before Banda. He continued until the twenty-fourth June, taking in a cargo; afterwards sailed to Tuban, where he likewise delivered a present from Maurice to the King; and returned to Bantam the first of August. In this route, he met with two ships of Heemskerck's fleet, with a prize they had taken at Joartam. Having completed their cargo at Bantam, they all sailed homewards, on the fifteenth of that month, and arrived safely in Holland in April 1603, richly laden; having no less than

Banda.

BOOK II.
 1603.

than one million three hundred and thirty thousand two hundred pounds of pepper, a hundred and twenty-eight thousand three hundred pounds of cloves, six hundred and fifty thousand four hundred pounds of nutmegs, ninety-nine thousand eight hundred pounds of mace, and nine thousand nine hundred and one pounds of a kind of drug called *Cubebs*.

HEEMSKERK, with the other vessels, did not arrive at home until the following year. He took, in his route, a large Portuguese vessel, bound from Macao to Molucca, of one thousand four hundred tons burden, having eight hundred men on board, and richly laden with silk, copper, and other goods, with some gold in bars*. The equipment of his fleet had cost one million three hundred and thirty-four thousand four hundred and seventy-two florins, and he carried with him in reals to the value of seven hundred and four thousand nine hundred florins. But the success of the voyage so abundantly repaid the expence, that the merchants concerned made a dividend of 125 *per cent* †.

A sea-fight
 with Spinola.
 May 25.

ALBERT and Isabella had now been married upwards of four years, without having any children. Philip, therefore, concluding that the Provinces of the Netherlands subject to their jurisdiction, would, of course, again return to the Crown of Spain, made preparations for their defence, as if they were already his own. Frederic Spinola procured a commission to his brother the Marquis, to raise twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse, to

* She was valued at seven millions of livres. *Introd. au Recueil.*

† *Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi, &c. tom. 3. p. 415—479. et Introduction au Recueil. Pontani Historia Amstel. lib. 2. c. 26. Grotii Historia, lib. 11. p. 426, &c.*

to be commanded by the two brothers, and to be employed wherever occasion required. The Marquis went first to Germany, and from thence to Italy, in order to make these new levies, while Frederick continued to infest the coast of Zealand. With this view, Frederick sailed out of the harbour of Sluys, with eight galleys and four small vessels, having on board, besides the sailors, one thousand five hundred soldiers, all chosen troops from the camp before Ostend. Having a favourable wind, he bore down upon the Confederates fleet, which consisted of three men of war belonging to Zealand, and two galleys, one belonging to Zealand, the other to Holland, and had blocked up the harbour. They advanced to meet him; but, the wind failing, four only came up, and had a share in the engagement. There were, besides sailors, only thirty-six soldiers, drawn out of the garrison of Flushing, aboard the Confederates fleet. But the sailors behaved with such resolution, that the assailants lost all hopes of a victory; and after Spinola himself was killed, with above three hundred of his men, retreated precipitately to Sluys. This advantage, acquired with so small a loss as that of thirty-six men killed, and sixty wounded, served to remove the fears which the Confederates had hitherto entertained of the enemy's galleys. The death of Frederick contributed to prevent his brother from raising all the troops he intended. The Marquis was forced to return to Flanders without having much success, and to be satisfied with keeping together the troops he had brought last year from Italy*.

THE Arch Duke was active in making provision for the ensuing campaign. The Duke of Aumale raised

The Mutineers at Hoochstrate join Maurice's army. Aug. 8.

* Thyſii Historia Navalis, cap. 33. Carnero. Haræus. Bentivoglio. Ens.

BOOK II. ^{1603.} raised a thousand horse for him in Lorrain; three thousand foot were levied in Germany, and a few in Italy. His intention was to take Rhineberg. He appointed the Marquis Spinola to the charge of the siege of Ostend, and put seven thousand foot and three thousand horse under the command of Frederic de Berg, with orders to drive out the mutineers from Hoochstrate, of which they still kept possession. These mutineers had given him great disturbance for a long time, by ravaging the whole province of Namur. Albert was resolved, therefore, to punish them severely for their disobedience, that he might terrify others from following their example: which he thought the more necessary, lest, while his army was employed at a distance, they should attack such places as were left defenceless. They now amounted to two thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, and observed the strictest discipline among themselves. Finding that they were closely shut up by Berg, they applied to Maurice for the assistance he had often offered them, but which they had hitherto refused. They entered into a treaty with him, and engaged, that, on condition of being taken under the protection of the Confederates, they would fight against the Spaniards, as long as the armies should be in the field that year; that if the town and castle of Hoochstrate should not be thought sufficient for their defence, some other town, more proper, should be assigned them; and, in case they should make any agreement with the Arch Duke, that they would not, for four months, carry arms against the Confederates. Accordingly, eight hundred men were left in the castle, and the rest joined Maurice, who had come to Gertruydenberg with near ten thousand foot and three thousand horse. They advanced together against Berg, who, fearing that he would be cut off from provisions, sent

sent away in the night time, first his artillery, and afterwards his troops, towards Herentaa. As he still, however, kept up his guards, to deceive Maurice, his retreat was not known till next morning, when the soldiers in the castle attacked his rear, and killed some of his men.

BOOK II.
1603.

MAURICE did not chuse to pursue after him through a marshy country, and during the constant rain which fell at that time. He would have marched directly to Bois-le-Duc, but thought it proper first to consult the General Estates. The deputies of Zealand insisted much that the war should be carried into Flanders. But Maurice was allowed to do what he found most for the public good. Eight days were spent before he could execute his intention, and encamp before Bois-le-Duc. A particular quarter, at some distance from his own, was assigned to the mutineers; and he hoped, either that the town would surrender, or that Albert would be obliged to divide his troops, and thus weaken the siege of Ostend, or be disabled from making any attempts elsewhere.

Maurice besieges Bois-le-Duc.

THE Arch Duke was much concerned when he received the news of Bois-le-Duc being besieged. He thought that he had not troops enough to relieve it, and continue the siege of Ostend; and was much afraid it would surrender to Maurice, because the citizens had always refused to admit of a garrison, and were themselves too few in number to defend a place of so large a circuit. When some of the new raised troops arrived from Italy, they were dispatched to join the army under Berg, who was ordered to follow Maurice. Berg accordingly appeared in three days after; took his station near Bois-le-Duc, which the Confederates had not quite invested; and erected a fort to cut off the communication

Berg marches to its relief.

Book II.

1603.

nication between Maurice and the mutineers. It was begun to be built in the night-time, and was raised a man's height before Maurice suspected such a design. He immediately determined to attack it, and dislodge the Spaniards. The English made the first assault with great bravery, but were notwithstanding repulsed. The next succeeded, and the enemy were chased to the gates of the town, which being shut, four hundred of them were killed, or drowned, and one hundred and fifty taken prisoners. Oliver Temple, as he was passing from Maurice's camp to that of the mutineers, was wounded by a cannon-shot from the town, and soon after died. He had been in the service of the States for twenty years; was esteemed a man of great prudence; at this time was Judge-advocate of the army, and appointed to a particular charge of the affairs of the mutineers.

The siege is
raised.

End of Oc-
tober.

BERG, after having tried to persuade the citizens to admit a garrison, but in vain, sent notice to Albert, that Bois-le-Duc was in great danger, and advised him to come in person with some additional troops. He accordingly arrived, and at last accomplished his purpose by means of a stratagem. Pretending that it was necessary to make some of his troops pass through the town, the more conveniently to attack the besiegers, he ordered a great body of the Walloons to enter, and calling for the Magistrates, told them, that as the citizens were unable to defend the place, these troops would remain to give them assistance. The citizens complained, but were obliged to submit. Albert, in this manner, provided Bois-le-Duc with a garrison of three thousand men, and having conveyed into it abundance of victuals and ammunition, returned to Brussels. It was now about the end of October; and winter approaching, both armies retired. The
mutineers

mutineers having begged that they might be put in possession of a place of safety, their request was remitted to the General Estates; but as the Estates were long of forming any determination, Maurice gave them the town of Grave which belonged to himself. They promised not to do any injury to the citizens, nor molest any of the territories of the Confederates, or German Empire; and engaged that if they should make peace with Albert, they would restore Grave, and return to Hoochstrate.

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DURING all this time, the siege of Ostend continued. Rivas, who had the command of it, was indefatigable in raising batteries, and works of different kinds, from which he might annoy the town. But the garrison made several sallies with such success that they were always demolished. Pompeo Torgone, an Italian engineer, built a huge castle of wood upon boats fastened together, on the top of which, on one side, were planted six great cannon, and on the other side, was space enough for a number of soldiers. But it shared a like fate with the other contrivances of a similar nature. For it was soon rendered useless by fixing in the sand, where it was shattered to pieces by the waves.

Continuation of the
siege of Ostend.

ALBERT, vexed that, notwithstanding all his labour, the communication with the town was still open, committed a barbarous action with a view to intimidate the States troops. A ship belonging to the Confederates, aboard which were twelve sick soldiers, was stranded. He ordered them all to be hanged, alleging, that as they were taken at sea, they had no right to life by the common laws of war. When this was told to Maurice, then in the camp before Bois-le-Duc, he caused an equal number

BOOK II.
 1603. ber to be chosen by lot from among the prisoners in his custody, and, in return, hanged eleven of them; one being spared on account of his tender age. Though this method of revenge was cruel, yet some were of opinion, that Albert's conduct should have been retaliated by putting to death double the number of prisoners. It was remarkable, that, in casting lots, one of those whom chance had saved, agreed, for the sake of a hire, to submit to the same chance a second time, in place of another.

Marquis
 Spinola appointed to
 the charge
 of the siege.

DORP, who had acted as governor of Ostend for some time, was relieved, and Vander Noot substituted in his place. By the passage to the town being still open, and all attempts to stop up the channel proving ineffectual, many of Albert's officers began to despair of being able to force it to surrender. But as it was hoped, on the other hand, that a dyke, which was already begun to be built across the channel, might at last be compleated, it was thought adviseable to persist, because the acquisition of so important a place was necessary for the security of Flanders. Ambrose, Marquis Spinola, had come to Ostend, about the middle of summer, and after viewing it very carefully, engaged to reduce it, provided he was entrusted with the chief command. The Arch Duke agreed to confer this honour upon him, though he had not long served in the army. He, and his brother Frederic, who was killed in the late sea-fight, were sons of Charles Spinola, a rich citizen of Genoa, and both of them entered into the service of the King of Spain, animated by a strong desire of acquiring military fame, and a warm zeal for the support of the Catholic religion. Frederic had fitted out the gallies for cruising against the Confederates, at his own charges, on condition of getting

getting to himself all the booty he could; and Ambrose had hitherto paid all the troops he brought from Italy. The Arch Duke was willing to give the Marquis the charge of the siege, hoping that his eagerness would supply, in some measure, his want of experience; and that rather than fail in an enterprize of such importance, which he had voluntarily undertaken, he would be ready even to advance part of his own money to defray the expence. An Italian being so suddenly promoted to such an honourable employment, gave great offence to the other officers; but the vigour with which he began his operations removed all just ground of complaint. He immediately laid in a store of all the materials necessary for finishing the works intended to shut up the channel. In a short time, he made a passage over it by means of fascines, earth, and stones, and advanced to the ravelines. The besieged used all the efforts in their power to keep him at a distance, and killed many of his men; but were at last forced to abandon all their fortifications on the outside of their principal line, which, though surrounded with a ditch, Spinola did not doubt of being able to gain. Winter, however, again coming on, greatly retarded his progress, and damaged his works.

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1603.

In the Court of Philip, many were now sensible of the disadvantages arising from prohibiting the Confederates all commerce with Spain. They had, by this means, been prompted to take the route to the Indies, and were so powerful at sea, as to carry the war even into these distant countries. The only remedy that remained, was to remove the necessity of going there in quest of commodities which they were not allowed to purchase in Europe, by granting them, as formerly, a liberty to

New taxes
upon trade
in Spain.

BOOK II.
1603.

to trade in the Spanish ports. This plan appeared so proper, that Philip, by an edict, opened the trade to Spain; but avarice and bad policy prevented its producing the effects expected; for, at the same time, besides all the former duties, a new one of no less than thirty *per cent.* was imposed; and so absurd were the notions entertained on this subject, that the duty was made payable, not merely by the Confederates, but likewise by the subjects of all other nations, under pretence of preventing the Confederates from trading under borrowed names. Besides, as if this had not been sufficient, the Confederates were discharged from importing into Spain any goods of their own manufacture, and obliged to procure a passport from the Arch Duke. The natural consequence of these unreasonable restrictions could be nothing else but an entire stop to trade between Spain and the United Provinces. Even other nations complained; and Henry of France was so much displeased, that, at first, he laid the same duties upon the Spaniards, and afterwards expressly discharged his own subjects having any commerce with them, as long as Philip's edict continued in force, on pain of death, and forfeiture of the goods.

THE Arch Duke, on the other hand, expected to induce, by an affected appearance of clemency, some of his subjects, who had left his territories, to return. He issued a proclamation, assuring such as lived in the enemy's country, and were not guilty of any crime, that they might come home with entire safety; and promising, that their effects, which had been confiscated, should be restored. They were, however, deprived of the power of alienating such property; and all exercise of any other religion but the Roman Catholic was

was prohibited. This pretended favour had no influence*.

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THE Confederates, now not only debarred, in a great measure, by the late edict, from commerce with Spain, but taught by experience, the advantages of the trade to the East Indies, resolved to render their expeditions to these countries more secure and extensive. For this purpose, the General Estates equipped six men of war, which were sent under the command of Paul Caerden, to Brasil, and ravaged all that coast. The United Company of Merchants fitted out thirteen vessels, with the design chiefly of making farther establishments, and dispatched them under the command of Stephen Van Hagen. They were from two hundred and fifty to seven hundred tons burden; the crews consisted of one thousand two hundred men; and the whole expence was reckoned at two millions two hundred and ninety thousand three hundred and sixty-eight livres †.

Naval expeditions of the Confederates.

* Carnero, lib. 15. c. 8. 10, & 11. Bentivoglio, p. 3. l. 7. Grotius, l. 12. Haræus. Baudart.

† Grotii Historia, p. 445. Recueil des Voyages qui ont fervi, &c. tom. 5. p. 3.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
UNITED PROVINCES
OF THE
NETHERLANDS.

BOOK III.

THOUGH all propofals for holding conferences concerning a peace had hitherto been rejected by the Confederates; yet Count Baffigny, by Albert's orders, defired a passport, that he might be allowed to come to the Hague, and talk with the States on that fubject. They answered, that they were willing to correfpond with him by letters; but would not confent to his coming in perfon. It is fcarcely to be fupposed that Albert expected any thing would be done, in confequence of this application from the Count. It is more probable, that his view was to ufe it as a proof of his averfion to the longer carrying on the war; and, by laying the blame upon the Confederates, to recommend himfelf to his own fubjects, and his caufe to the fupport of the neighbouring Princes. For, in a meeting of the German Princes

BOOK III.

1604.
Letters
from the
Emperor.

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1604.

held at Ratifbon, and in which his brother, Matthias, presided, he accused them as enemies to the tranquillity of the Empire. In that diet, there were some, who, from attachment to the House of Austria, and zeal for the Catholic religion, insisted, that terms of peace should be settled; and that the party which refused to accept of them should be compelled by force to acquiesce. But others were more moderate; and the former course of sending an embassy was preferred. The Emperor wrote letters to the Confederates, in which he rehearsed the injury that the adjoining states and towns had suffered; required them to make restitution; and laid to their charge, not only what was done by their own soldiers, but likewise by the mutineers, whom they had taken under their protection. The States, in return, justified their conduct; and asserted, that while they had done nothing but what was absolutely necessary for their own safety, they had used their utmost efforts to preserve the German territories unhurt.

Insolence of
the muti-
neers.

BUT the complaints against the mutineers still continued. This very winter, they not only sacked Eindoven, in Brabant, and Erkelen, in Gueldres, where Albert's soldiers had collected all the booty that they had taken for several years, but seized upon the castle of Carpen, which was conveniently situated for their excursions; broke into Westphalia; obliged that country to pay them contributions; fired some cannon against Cologne itself; and killed four hundred of the people of Paderborn, in revenge for two of their men being put to death by the peasants, who could no longer bear the insolence of these robbers*.

THE

* Grotii Historia, lib. 13. p. 446, &c.

THE expences of the war became every year more burdensome; but they were paid by the Confederates with an alacrity, which love of freedom inspired. The Council of State, in the estimate made during the winter for the following year, demanded four hundred and eighty-one thousand florins a-month for the ordinary expence; and seventy-four thousand one hundred and twenty-five florins a-month, for extraordinaries; twenty-one thousand a-month for some new raised Scots regiments, and one hundred thousand a-month for the relief of Ostend. To raise these sums, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friseland, and Groningen, were to pay two hundred thousand florins monthly, besides six hundred thousand florins, between the months of April and September, for the charges of the camp or field, and three hundred thousand for the reparations of forts; and the other two provinces of Gueldres and Overijssel, a proportion according to their abilities. A new tax was laid upon wine, for the purpose of raising the money agreed to be paid to England. All these sums were accordingly collected; and it was further ordered by the General Estates, that the country of Drenthe should pay monthly eight thousand florins, Linghen three thousand three hundred; and that the contributions from the enemy's country should be strictly exacted †.

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Estimate of
the expence
for the fol-
lowing
campaign.

NOTWITHSTANDING these liberal provisions, Ostend was now in great danger. The General Estates, anxious to preserve it, but unable to beat Spinola from his quarters, resolved to make another attempt to draw him from the siege. The method which promised to be most successful was, to march an army into Flanders and attack Sluys, a place

Maurice
besieges
Sluys.
April.

* Ens Belli Civilis Historia.

BOOK III.
 1604.

a place of still greater consequence, on account of its convenient harbour. In the end of April, therefore, when part of their horse, in company with the mutineers, ravaged Brabant, and the enemy was, as yet, uncertain where they would carry on the operations of this campaign, Maurice, accompanied by the Council of State, and some Deputies of the States, landed twelve thousand men † in Catzand, which belongs to Flanders, is situated near the sea, and formed into a kind of island, by having a small river on the east, the harbour of Sluys on the west, and several rivers behind. Maurice, it was thought, committed an error in putting his men ashore in this quarter. Had he gone directly to Sluys, as the States advised, it was imagined he might have got possession of the town, in which, at that time, there was only a very small garrison; advanced to Ostend; and, probably, with success attacked the Spaniards while they were dispersed, and unprepared for making much resistance. Spinola got notice of his design, and threw some troops into Sluys; and Mattheo Serrano, the Governor, having acquainted the Arch Duke with his situation, received a supply of three hundred men, and a promise of a still farther reinforcement. Accordingly, in a short time, the bank of the harbour of Sluys was covered with soldiers brought from Ostend, though the Confederates ships forced the enemy's gallies to retire into the harbour, lest the entrance into it should be entirely shut up; and, though Maurice battered with his guns Fort St. Anne, which was nearest the town, and twice endeavoured to land his troops, he was repulsed. Pompeo Justiniano, an officer much

† This is the number assigned by Grotius — Haræus makes it amount to 14,000 foot and 3000 horse; and Bentivoglio to 15,000 foot and 2500 horse.

much esteemed by Spinola, and who had been dispatched with two thousand men under his command, opposed him with such firmness, that his endeavours were in vain. While Maurice was anxiously enquiring after a road by which he might lead his troops farther into Flanders, by chance, first a countryman, and afterwards, a small body of the enemy's troops, passing, pointed out a ford across the Channel at the back of Catzand. Conducting his army through this ford, he raised a battery, and seized upon a fort in the neighbourhood. Two other forts, Catharine and Philip, were likewise gained: the former, when Maurice, despairing of being able to force it, was drawing off his men, being forsaken by the garrison, who imagined that the noise which they heard was occasioned by the arrival of a supply of troops: and the latter abandoned upon his approach. But he was obliged to lay siege to Fort Ifendike, whither the enemy, to the number of six hundred, had retreated. It surrendered, however, in seven days. Having next taken possession of Fort Ardenburg, which the Spaniards had deserted, and having put some men into the castle of Middleburg, which they had likewise left, he proceeded to lay siege to Sluys. The whole of the country was intersected by rivers and canals, a circumstance which served to defend the Confederates against any attack; but which, at the same time, obliged them to take a wide circuit in their march.

WHEN Maurice came near the two rivers that run from Damm and Bruges to Sluys, he found Lewis Velasco had fortified himself in that quarter, in order to stop his farther progress. Velasco, thinking that Maurice was not prepared for meeting an enemy at this place, came out of his trenches, and made the first attack. The detachment

Maurice defeats Velasco.

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ment in the van of the Confederates army was beginning to yield, when the English advanced to the charge, and afforded such effectual support, that the Spaniards were entirely routed. Five hundred of them were killed or drowned, and three hundred were taken prisoners. The remainder fled with great precipitation to Damm. Such joy did this victory give to the Deputies of the States, that they went out to meet the conquerors, and not only bestowed all due praise upon their bravery, but distributed considerable presents among the officers and soldiers. By this success, the Confederates were greatly encouraged; and having got possession of all the adjoining forts, encamped in three divisions between the shore and Sluys. Maurice hoped that the garrison would surrender for want of provisions. But before he could complete his works, one thousand five hundred men, with a large supply, were conveyed into the town over the marshy grounds. A little after, however, Justiniano made a like attempt, which proved unsuccessful. Maurice had been informed of his intention; attacked the convoy with his horse; dispersed it, and took several loaded waggons. From this time, the principal design of the Confederates was to guard the avenues, and, by cutting off all communication with the town, to reduce it by famine.

The muti-
neers paci-
fied.
April 30.

THE danger which threatened Sluys induced the Arch Duke to use his utmost endeavours for its relief. That he might not be forced to withdraw his army from Ostend, he resolved to pacify the mutineers, by granting them any terms which they should demand. With this view, he came to Bruges, which lies in the middle betwixt Sluys and Ostend, and made them proposals. Though they would not, at first, agree that the booty they had taken

taken should be reckoned in part of their pay, as Albert had contended, yet, afraid of his being able, some time or other, to punish severely their disobedience, they consented to return to their duty, on condition of Ruremonde being assigned them as a place of security, until all their arrears should be paid. The Confederates dreaded that they would, notwithstanding their former engagement, keep Grave. But they acted with more honour, and restored that town, in return for which, the castles of Hoochstrate and Carpen were, according to the agreement, put into their possession. The Arch Duke condescended so far as to give them the Duke of Ossuna, a Spanish Grandee, who had, last year, come to Flanders, Count Fountenoy, a Flemish nobleman, and Avalo, formerly an officer in the Italian troops, as hostages for the fulfilling of this treaty. A few of the mutineers came over to Maurice's camp.

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THE Arch Duke, thus reinforced, thought that the relief of Sluys might be attempted, and gave Spinola orders for this purpose. Spinola remonstrated against taking any part of the troops from Ostend; but finding that the Arch Duke was determined, he complied, though very unwillingly. Leaving only as many men as were necessary to continue the siege of Ostend, and joined by the greater part of the mutineers, he began his march towards Damm, with six thousand foot and two thousand horse, ten pieces of cannon, and a large store of provisions; and, advancing directly with three thousand chosen troops to the place where Count William of Nassau was stationed, made a brisk attack upon that quarter. Unable to force his way, he made a large circuit; took the two forts Catharine and Philip; and endeavoured to pass over into Catzand when the water was low. The Spaniards

The Spaniards defeated.

BOOK III. Spaniards exhibited, on this occasion, many proofs
 of their firmness and bravery, in endeavouring to
 land in the face of the greater part of the Confederates army. After a long struggle, and perceiving the water fast rising, they retreated. Four thousand of them were killed in this action; among whom was the Marquis of Renty, son of Lord Montigny, a young man greatly esteemed.

Sluys capitulates.
 August 20.

THE besieged, now deprived of all hopes of succour, and perishing for want, capitulated, on condition of their being allowed to leave Sluys with their colours flying, and carrying their arms and baggage. Betwixt three and four thousand marched out, and exhibited a very miserable spectacle, being emaciated with hunger, and so weakened, that, in their road from Sluys to Damm, sixty of them dropped down dead. Maurice got in the town seventy large cannon, and some smaller; and in the harbour, twelve gallies. The slaves, to the number of one thousand four hundred, were set at liberty. Catzand, Isendike, and the town and harbour of Sluys, were all fortified, and the government of Flanders conferred on Count Henry of Nassau, with Vander Noot, who had returned from Ostend, as his Lieutenant.

Condition
 of Ostend.

THE acquisition of so important a place as Sluys served to reconcile the Confederates to the loss of Ostend, an event which now seemed inevitable. Ghistelle, Loon, and Berendrecht, who, in turns, had succeeded Noot, were killed; and Utenhove, who next had the command, was wounded, and left the town. Daniel de Hertam, Sieur de la Marquette, who was substituted in his place, found that it was impossible to hold out much longer. The Arch Duke, afraid that Maurice would march with his victorious army to its relief, fortified such places as he must necessarily pass, and ordered
 Spinola

Spinola to push the siege with vigour, that it might be ended before winter. Various engines were contrived both for procuring near access, and defending the troops from the fire of the besieged. One of the most remarkable was called by the Flemings, *The Infernal Chariot*. It was a kind of bridge, fifty paces long and sixteen broad, placed on wheels fifteen feet high, and drawn by horses. Part of it, formed of great cables so closely bound together as not to be easily penetrated, could, by means of pulleys, be raised up or let down at pleasure. It was intended, by the help of this machine, to make an attack upon the half moon which was upon the opposite side of the channel. But this engine, formidable in its first appearance, shared the same fate with many others designed for similar purposes. A cannon ball having knocked off one of the wheels, it was rendered useless.

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NOTWITHSTANDING the frequent sallies of the besieged, Spinola so far advanced his works, that his mines took effect. Some of the fortifications were entirely demolished, and the platforms were raised so high as to command all the batteries. The Governor gave orders to erect new batteries behind the old ones, and the garrison cheerfully submitted to the labour and fatigue. But composed of new and loose earth*, they were not sufficient to resist the enemy's shot; and as often as the wind blew strongly from the sea, part of them were destroyed. Spinola, at the same time, by planting some cannon on the ruins of the old ramparts, made great havock among the garrison, while they were much exposed to his fire. Marquette

It surrenders. Sept. 20.

* Baudart says, that they even took the dead bodies out of their graves, and piled them up in the manner of fascines. *Les Guerres de Nassau*, tome 2. p. 340.

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1604.

quette made known his situation to the General Estates, who reflecting upon the vast expence and loss of men they had already sustained ; that it was impossible for Maurice to march to his assistance, through an enemy's country, where there were many strong towns ; and that besides Grave and Rhineberg, they had got Sluys, a place of still greater importance than Ostend, sent him orders to capitulate on the best terms he could procure. Accordingly, the ships were dispatched with part of the artillery ; hostages were exchanged ; and a treaty begun. After several conferences, the capitulation was concluded. It was agreed, that all the Ecclesiastics should leave the town without being molested ; that the Governor and other officers, the garrison, and likewise such of the inhabitants as pleased, might retire where they chused ; that all the ships, whether laden or not, might be sent away ; that the garrison might carry with them four pieces of cannon ; all their arms and baggage ; march out with colours flying, and their matches lighted ; and, that prisoners should be mutually exchanged. The garrison, consisting of above three thousand choice troops †, passed through the enemy's camp, and went to Sluys, where they were met by Maurice, who received them with that respect which was due to their bravery, in sustaining a siege which had lasted more than three years. The Arch Duke and the Infanta came, soon after, to see a place which had cost so much time, money, and blood. Justiniano, who wrote an account of the wars in which he himself bore so distinguished a part, says, that the Spanish army lost more than fifty

† Grotius, p. 452. Carnero says, that they were 4000, and Haræus, 4300 ; but Winwood, in his letter to Lord Cranborne, that there were in the town at this capitulation only 1600 men, and 400 women, besides children.

fifty thousand men; and, that reckoning the loss on both sides, and including the men, women, and children, who died of cold, famine, or diseases, no fewer than one hundred and forty thousand persons perished *. The Arch Duke appointed Signeur de la Grison to be Governor; but the greater part of the inhabitants went to Sluys. As both armies were already tired with the fatigues of this campaign, they were put into winter quarters †.

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1604.

DURING the siege of Sluys, two of the three vessels, under the command of George Spilberg, returned from the East Indies. They sailed from Campvere

Return of
two ships
from the
Indies.

* Miræus (Chronicon in anno 1601) says, more than 120,000: and Carnero, that the Confederates lost in all more than 78,000; and among these seven Governors of the town. Pise observes, that by an account published at Brussels, the Spaniards had lost, from the time of the arrival of Spinola, more than 60,000 men. He likewise says, that the siege of Ostend cost the Confederates more than four millions of gold; and that they lost more than 50,000 men, p. 718.

† Carnero, lib. 15. cap. 11, 12, & 13. Haræus.—Bentivoglio.—Grotius.—Ens.—Pise. A number of medals were struck by the different Provinces, referring to the taking of Sluys, and the gallant defence of Ostend. The most splendid was one struck by order of the General Estates, in gold and silver. On one side was a representation of Sluys, with the forts Isendike and Ardenburg; on the other the following inscription:

DEI OMNIPOTENTIS
Gratia, Ordines Fæderatarum
Provinciarum Belgii,
Illustrissimi Principis Mauriti Auriaci Ductu;
Post strenuam Triginta octo
Mensibus Ostendæ Defensionem, fugatis,
Cæsis & repulsis Hispaniæ Copiis,
Cadsantium, Isendicum,
Ardenburgum, Slusam, & duodecim
Triremes Hispaniæ,
Pro Ruderibus Ostendæ capiunt muniuntque.

M. D. C. I V.

Bizot Histoire Metallique, p. 111.

Ens. Historia Belli Civilis, lib. 24. p. 293.

BOOK III. Campvere in Zealand, in May 1601, and, after
 1604. passing the Islands of Madeira and Palma, and a
 slight skirmish with some Portuguese ships they
 met with in Puerto Dale, made for the Island of
 St. Thomas. Crossing the line, twenty-third of
 July, and, having in vain attempted to procure
 some provisions at Annebon, where their landing
 was opposed, they came in sight of St. Thomas,
 on the thirty-first. When they passed by the fort the
 garrison fired some shot. Seven vessels were lying
 at anchor near the fort. Spilberg was much disposed
 to attack them; but, a great number of his men
 being sick, and having the prospect of a long
 voyage, which would not admit of any delay, he
 thought it more prudent to bear out for sea. He
 reached the Cape of Good Hope, on the twenty-
 eighth of November, and soon after anchored near
 an island he named *Elisabeth*, situated in 33 de-
 grees and a quarter, about 19 or 20 leagues to the
 north of the Cape. It is about a league in cir-
 cumference, and surrounded with rocks on the
 west side; but on the east there is a good bottom
 of sand. The ground was covered with herbs and
 flowers: There were no trees, nor fresh water:
 But great numbers of sea-wolves, or bears, very
 fierce, birds of different kinds, and particularly
 penguins. Leaving this island, he came to ano-
 ther, which he named *Cornelia*, five leagues to the
 south of the former. Here he put ashore such of
 his men as were sick, and provided himself with
 fresh water. After doubling the Cape, in the be-
 ginning of the year 1602, he made little progress
 for some time, owing to the force of the currents
 from the north-east. These proved an unsur-
 mountable obstacle to pursuing the route he at first
 intended by the Cape of St. Mary to the island of
 Cows, and obliged him to make for Madagascar,
 in order to go from thence to the islands of Co-
 morre, which were another rendezvous mentioned
 in

Elisabeth
Isle.

Cornelia.

in his instructions. When he came in view of Madagascar, he bore away north-west, and, on the second of February, found himself on the coast of Soffala, in 18 degrees and 3 quarters. The boat being sent ashore, the crew saw eight or ten negroes, to whom they made signs, by throwing them pieces of iron and some other goods, that their intention was to trade with them. The negroes made them understand, partly by signs, and partly by a few Portuguese words, that nothing was to be procured in that place; but that if they advanced five or six leagues farther into the river of Quama, they would meet with some Portuguese, who would furnish them with various commodities. Soffala lies along the sea-coast, between the rivers Manici and Quama; and the capital town of the same name stands in an island in the last of these rivers. The Portuguese had a fort on the side of Quama, where they carried on all the trade of that coast. The country was very low and level, but was reckoned unhealthy. The people acknowledged themselves subject to the Portuguese.

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SPILBERG again setting sail, and passing the islands of Primeras, designed to steer for the island of Angoras. But he was attacked by a violent storm, which lasted several days, and obliged to bear to the south-east. When the tempest abated, he made some progress, and was joined by his boat which he had sent up the river Quama, where two of the crew were detained by the Portuguese. In this route he arrived before Mulaly, one of the islands of Comorre. Some officers of the king of that island, attended by an interpreter, came on board, and brought with them refreshments. Spilberg not only paid sufficiently for them, but sent presents to the King, who, upon his going ashore, received

Mulaly.

BOOK III. received him with great hospitality. One of the
 1604. boats was dispatched to Mayette and Angovan, two others of the Commore islands, in order to learn if any rice could be got; but soon after returned with an account, that none could be procured. Spilberg, though often solicited by the King to come to his palace, always declined, not chusing to put too much confidence in him, notwithstanding many professions of friendship. But some of the crew were so much pleased with the reception which they met with from these islanders, that they went ashore against Spilberg's inclination. He waited for their return several days, and made signals for their coming aboard; but in vain. He afterwards went to Mayette, and staid there some time, in expectation of their joining him. At last, as his water and wood began to fail; as the road at Mayette was very bad, and the number of sick daily increasng, he resolved to proceed on his voyage, though considerably weakened by the loss of twenty-eight of the stoutest of his men.

Ceylon.

THE twenty-fifth of April 1602, he crossed the Equinoctial Line, for the fourth time, and made for the island of Ceylon, where he arrived on the twenty-eighth, and was conducted by some of the natives to the Bay of Matecalo in that island. Here he was informed that he might purchase pepper and cinnamon. At the desire of the chief officer of the Island, Spilberg visited him; and having, with difficulty convinced him, that he and his crew were not Portuguese but Flemings, obtained a very favourable reception, and a promise, that, in fifteen days, he should have his cargo completed. From time to time, however, the fulfilling of this engagement was delayed; and Spilberg was at last told, that the King of Matecalo could do nothing without advising with the King of Candy; and that he
 was

was ready to send some of his people with one of the Flemings to procure his consent. While the messengers were gone for this purpose, the Flemings procured from the natives several kinds of precious stones, such as rubies, topazes, hyacinths, and granites. Though these stones of Ceylon are not the most esteemed, yet they were of considerable value. But they cost some presents to the King for the liberty of carrying on this trade. The messengers sent to the King of Candy returned with letters in a very obliging style, and presents for the Admiral, of some gold rings and arrows, and a request that he would come to Candy, where he should be furnished with every thing the country produced. When he was preparing to undertake this journey, the *Ram*, which had parted from him near the Cape of Good Hope, again appeared. She lost at that time, in the storm, her mast and bowsprit, and with difficulty got into the Bay of St. Augustine, before Madagascar.

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SPIILBERG set out for Candy, accompanied by ten of his crew. The King of Matecalo sent along with him some of the natives as guides, and provided him with elephants for his baggage, and palquins for carrying those who were not able to travel such a distance. Along the whole road, he and his company were entertained by the Modeliars, or King's officers, who treated them with every mark of respect. When he arrived at Vintana, a town situated on the river Trinquamade, twenty-one leagues from Matecalo, and nine from Candy, he was met by six Modeliars, with a great number of their people playing upon different instruments. They conducted him to apartments prepared for him, and hung with white tapestry, reckoned in Ceylon the highest honour that can be paid to any person. He staid here two days. There were in

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the town several Pagodas, and a convent of Religious, who were held in great veneration. They had their heads shaved, like the Monks in Europe, and walked with chapelets in their hands, repeating some prayers. In their convent they had statues both of men and women, who, it was said, had lived holy lives; and, from respect to their memory, a number of lamps, placed on altars before the statues, were kept burning night and day. Every hour these Religious went to their chapels, where they read a kind of Breviary. In paying their devotions to their idols, they lay flat upon the ground; and when they rose, put their two hands upon their head, and in this posture said their prayers. The Flemings happened to see a procession through the streets, on occasion of one of their festivals. The Superior of the convent rode upon an elephant. He was dressed in cloth of gold and silver, and held in his hand a golden sceptre. Before him marched the other Religious, in good order, accompanied with musical instruments, and carrying a number of lamps and lighted tapers; and behind was a great number of women and girls, who, before the procession began, and in returning, danced, and exhibited a variety of postures. The upper part of their bodies was naked, the under part covered with cloth richly embroidered. They had bracelets on their arms, and rings in their ears, of gold and precious stones. There were likewise in this country a number of Bramas who were much respected. They were very superstitious. They worshipped the first animal they met in the morning, and ate nothing in which there had been life.

ANOTHER day's journey brought Spilberg and his company to the palace of the King's son, where they were well entertained with fruits and wine. Here

Here the King's palanquin and elephants waited for them, and those were sent back which they had brought from Vintana. When they came near to Candy, they stopped on the bank of a river, and were met by a number of the King's officers, and his first Modeliar, or Captain, Emanuel Dios, with several other Portuguese, who all had their ears cropped, in token of their being servants of the King of Candy. Spilberg and his company marched into the town, followed by a thousand soldiers under arms, and of different nations, with colours flying, some of which had been lately taken from the Portuguese. Spilberg was conducted to a lodging provided for him; and upon his arrival, was saluted by a discharge of fire-arms. That afternoon he was admitted to an audience of the King, which lasted only a short time, his Majesty having desired him to refresh himself after his journey, and to return next day. Spilberg then entered into a conversation with him concerning the purchase of pepper and cinnamon; but as they could not agree on the price, and the King asked how much he would give, Spilberg told his Majesty, that he had not come so much to buy, as to execute the orders of his Prince, in offering his alliance and friendship; and to assure him, that if he needed any assistance against his enemies, the Portuguese, Maurice was ready to support him to the utmost of his power. The King reported to his Courtiers these offers. They seemed to give general satisfaction; and so much was the King overjoyed, that he raised himself from the ground, embraced Spilberg, and told him, that all the pepper and cinnamon was at his command. But he added, that he had only a small quantity, because he never traded in these articles; had discharged his subjects to lay them up in store; and had even destroyed the trees, that the Portuguese might

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might be disappointed. The King showed Spilberg a great quantity of arms he had taken from the Portuguese, and discovered a particular pleasure in conducting him into the Pagodas, in which there were about four or five hundred idols, some of them of an enormous size. He asked him what he thought of them, and if the Pagodas in Holland were filled with images and statues, like those of the Portuguese, and called Mary, Peter, Paul, and such like names. Spilberg informed him, that the Hollanders were true Christians, not of the Church of Rome, nor depending upon the Pope, like the Portuguese; pointed out to him some walls without any ornaments, and said that these were like the walls of their churches, but that they had God in their hearts; *that* God who created the heavens, the earth, and all things. The King enquired if the God, whom the Hollanders worshipped, ever died. Spilberg endeavoured to prove to him, that God could not be mortal; that the worshipping of idols was vain; that nothing was concealed from God, and that such crimes as were not punished in this world, would be punished in another. The King seemed affected with the conversation, and disposed to acknowledge the truth of what Spilberg had said; for, after this discourse was ended, "It is true," he exclaimed, "every one will reap what he has sowed." Spilberg made a present to the King of a picture of Maurice drawn as he appeared at the battle of Nieuport. He was much pleased with it; and Spilberg having given him an account of that battle, and informed him, that the General Estates and Maurice carried on war against the King of Portugal and Castile, he gave evident marks of joy. The King carried Spilberg to the apartments of the Queen, an honour very seldom conferred upon any person. The Queen was sitting with the young Prince and Princess,

Princess, and were all dressed in the manner of BOOK III.
Europeans. The King said, that if the General 1604.
Estates and Maurice would build a fort in that
country, the Queen, the Prince, and Princess,
would be the first to carry on their shoulders the
materials. Spilberg staid with him five days, and
when he came away, the King put into his hands
several letters and instructions concerning the plan
of erecting a fort; appointed him his Ambassador
to treat with the General Estates and Maurice; and
gave him some presents. He begged the favour
of Spilberg that he would leave two of his men who
played upon musical instruments; expressed great
satisfaction with his granting this request; and
named one of them to the office of his Secretary.
Spilberg took his leave, and returned to his ships
in the same manner that he had come to Candy,
much pleased with his entertainment, and not
doubting but the King would continue an invete-
rate enemy to the Portuguese.

THE name of this King of Candy was Fimala-Darma-Suria-Ada. He was a son of one of the Princes of Candy. When Mara Ragu King of Ceylon, and his three lawful sons, were assassinated by Derma, one of his bastards, and who mounted the Throne, the Portuguese joined a party of the natives who would not acknowledge his authority. Derma was poisoned, and the Portuguese acquired a firmer establishment in the island than they had before enjoyed. They built several forts; allowed the natives the exercise of their heathenish superstition; married with their women; and conformed so much to the manners of the place, that they could scarcely be distinguished from the original inhabitants. The Portuguese carried away Fimala-Darma-Suria-Ada, when very young, to Goa, baptized him, and gave him the name of Don John.

BOOK III. { John. He early discovered great capacity ; and
 1604. the Portuguese, imagining that he was strongly attached to them, gave him the charge of Grand Modeliar, or chief Captain of Candy. He became first Minister of State to the King of that territory, and managed all his affairs. But when the King died, Don John, who was much beloved by all the natives, and particularly, by the soldiers, made himself be proclaimed King, and declared war against the Portuguese. The late King left a daughter, who was lawful heiress of his Crown. The Portuguese took her to Manar ; baptized her by the name of Donna Catharina ; and conducted her with a powerful armament prepared at Goa, under the command of Pedro-Lopez-de-Soza, general of Malacca, to Candy, with a design to place her on her father's throne. It was proposed that Soza should marry her, and govern the kingdom in quality of her husband. Don John made at first no opposition ; but no sooner was Catharina lodged in Candy, the capital, than he posted himself in the woods ; cut off all provisions from her troops ; killed the Portuguese whom he found straggling ; and defeated such parties as dared to come out of the town. The Portuguese were, by this means, obliged to advance, and give him battle ; and though they possessed many advantages, were defeated. Soza was killed ; Catharina was taken prisoner ; all the elephants, to the number of forty, were likewise taken ; and many of the Portuguese were made slaves. After this victory, Don John married the Princess ; demolished the forts erected by the Portuguese ; and was acknowledged King of Candy.

THE whole island of Ceylon produced pepper and cinnamon ; but the natives, who were very indolent, were at no pains to cultivate the one, or
 gather

gather the other. There were different kinds of metals, particularly iron and copper, in the kingdom of Candy, but very little in Matecalo. Some mountains in Candy likewise yielded gold and silver; but the King would not allow mines to be dug; and none durst search for precious stones, though there were abundance in the mountains. They were sought only for the King when he wanted any. Spilberg often desired that he might have some in exchange. The King always refused, and gave him a present of a few; but would not suffer any to be sold. He got, however, a considerable quantity of them privately. The country likewise produced wood, dye-stuffs, cotton, and ginger. The climate is healthy, and not subject to very great heat. When the King wants money, he begins to build a number of Pagodas; and, under pretence of finishing them, which he does not intend, he collects vast sums, and applies them to his own use. Notwithstanding the intercourse that the natives had with the Portuguese, they were, before the arrival of the Flemings, much addicted to idolatry. They believed, that the world would not perish as long as one of their famous Pagodas remained. When they were sick they paid their devotions to an idol representing the devil; and, in every house, there was a basket into which they put their offerings when they implored his assistance. Through the whole island, a man marries as many wives as he can maintain. The women are generally married about ten years of age.

BEFORE Spilberg left Ceylon he took three Portuguese vessels. One of them was a galliot of eighty tons, with forty-six men on board. The cargo, consisting mostly of arrack, with some pepper and cinnamon, he gave in a present to the King of Candy. The two others were of a smaller size.

Book III. size. The crews of these vessels amounted to a hundred men; some of them offered to serve in the Flemish ships, and were accepted; others were sent to Candy; the rest were thrown into the sea; and such as could swim got ashore. The two last vessels were burnt, as there was not time to sell their cargoes.

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Achin.

SPIILBERG departed from Ceylon the third day of September, and on the sixteenth arrived at Achin, in the island of Sumatra, where he found the *Lamb*, a pinnace belonging to his fleet, but which had separated from him near the Comorre islands. Speix, who commanded her, despairing of meeting again with him, and considering that the vessel could not contain a large quantity of pepper, had thought proper to join an English fleet. The English Admiral took him into his service; agreed to pay his men; and to allow them to put on board, for their own use, three lasts of goods, without charging any freight. When Spilberg went ashore, he was welcomed, with great joy, by some of his countrymen, who had lived there for some time, by order of a company of merchants of Zealand, concerned in the trade of the East Indies. Spilberg had scarcely entered the house where some of them lodged, and where he proposed to stay until he could procure an audience of the King, when the Sabandar waited upon him; told him that he might see his Majesty when he pleased; and immediately conducted him into his presence. Spilberg presented a letter from Maurice, begging that he would allow him liberty to trade. The King received him with much appearance of friendship. Spilberg, therefore, when he set sail in the *Sheep*, his own vessel, in company with the English ships, for the straits of Malacca, in order to watch the Portuguese carrack from St. Thomas, left his other

other vessel at Sumatra to take in pepper. He BOOK III,
was so fortunate as to fall in with the carrack in 1604.
the mouth of the Straits, on the fourteenth October,
and to take her, after an obstinate engagement.
Eight days were employed in unloading her cargo,
which was very valuable. She was about one
thousand four hundred tons burden, and had on
board more than six hundred men, Portuguese,
Molattoes, and slaves, with some women and child-
ren. The Captain was very much surprized to
learn from Spilberg an account of the several na-
vigations undertaken by the Confederates; and
that, with such small vessels, they could venture to
these seas. As the weather was very stormy, it
was resolved to abandon the carrack. The Portu-
guese, and the rest of the crew, were again put on
board, and allowed to go to Malacca, very thank-
ful for being so favourably treated.

SPILBERG found, upon his return to Sumatra,
that no pepper could be procured. The English,
who had been there for seven months, had got
sixty lasts. On the twentieth of November, he
set sail for the coast of Malacca; but the rough
weather prevented his landing. He put ashore at
Nicoubar, where several canoes brought him
oranges, fowls, and a small quantity of amber-
grease, part of which was of a bad quality. He
staid here some time, and proposed to return again
to Sumatra, in hopes that the English would then
be gone, and he would be able to purchase some
pepper. But, when he attempted it, the storms,
with a wind from the east, did not allow him to
reach the Road. When, on the morning of the
first of December, he came in sight of an island,
there were great disputes among the pilots what
island it was. The weather was so hazy that they
could not take an observation. But when it cleared
up,

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up, and the sun appeared about mid-day, they discovered that they were in seven degrees and a third of north latitude, at which the pilots were very much surprized. Instead of going, as they had believed, south or south-south-east, and sometimes south-south-west, they found, that the currents had forced them to the north. The island proved to be Nicoubar; but as they could not discover a proper place for throwing their anchors, or getting water, they made again for Sumatra, which they reached with difficulty, on the 25th of December. The King gave them a favourable reception, and agreed to furnish them with pepper in exchange for goods, if they would stay two months. The weather still continued so stormy, that one of the boats, in coming out of the river, sunk to the bottom, and nine of the crew were drowned. At another time, the boat of the *Ram*, going ashore, overfet, and the surgeon of the vessel was lost. At last, Spilberg got his goods landed, and began to take in pepper. He was lodged in a house, built of stone by the English, who, upon their departure, had made a present of it to the King.

On the seventeenth January 1603, he was joined by two vessels; on the twenty-ninth of that month, by another; and soon after, by two more of the fleet of fourteen ships which had left the Netherlands in June 1602, under the command of Wybrand Van Waarwyk, and Sebald de Weert. From Weert, who conducted these vessels, Spilberg learned, that the companies in Holland and Zealand which had separately carried on the trade to the East Indies, were now formed into one, by authority of the General Estates. It was proposed to him to sell to the Company the *Ram*, as that vessel would be useful in some parts of these countries, where it might be improper
to

to expose to danger others of more value. A bar-
 gain was accordingly concluded; Spilberg re-
 serving to himself all the victuals, two anchors,
 all the muskets, and the whole of the merchan-
 dize. The Vice-Admiral Weert, besides paying
 a certain sum of money, engaged to transport to
 Holland, in the two first ships which should be
 laded at Achin, twenty-four lasts of pepper, the
 price of the freight to be determined by the United
 Company. By this means, Spilberg's other vessel,
 the *Sheep*, was well victualed, and the crew en-
 creased. Speix, and three others, were ordered,
 to remain at Achin, to see the twenty-four lasts put
 aboard, according to agreement, and to employ
 in trade fifteen thousand reals of eight, still re-
 maining. The success that had attended the Con-
 federates in these seas, made the Portuguese very
 humble. When Spilberg was going away, he
 left in the road some of the natives of Negapatan,
 with whom a number of Portuguese wished to em-
 bark. But so much were they terrified with the
 taking of the carrack, and the other vessels on the
 coast of Ceylon, that they applied to Spilberg for
 a passport, and willingly paid him a good sum in
 return for his granting them this security.

WEERT, with seven of his ships, steered for
 Ceylon, and Spilberg for Bantam. The twenty-
 fifth of April the latter arrived at Java; and, cast-
 ing anchor before Bantam, found the Admiral
 Waarwyk lying there with nine vessels belonging
 to the United Company, whom Spilberg, in-
 formed of the rest of his fleet having sailed for
 Ceylon. Spilberg, at his desire, sold him the
 share he had got of the carrack of St. Thomas, at
 sixteen thousand and four hundred reals of eight,
 to be paid partly in as much pepper as he could
 still take on board, and the rest in money. Waar-
 wyk

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wyk got pepper here at four reals and a fourth, and five reals, the sack; each sack containing sixty Holland pounds. In June, they were joined by James Heemskerck in the *White Lyon*, and John Pauwelz in the *Alckmaar*, with a large new carrack they had taken. She was bound from Macao to Malacca; was laden with copper, silk, and other goods, with some gold in bars; and reckoned worth seven millions of livres. Spilberg bought back his pinnace from the English, whom he again met at Bantam; repaired her; and put aboard eight hundred sacks of pepper. He soon completed his lading which consisted of five thousand five hundred sacks of pepper, some precious stones*, ambergris, cinnamon, mace, indigo, silk, porcelain, and two hundred sacks of cloves. He set sail homewards, in company with the *Concord* of Delft, and the *Virgin* of Enckhuyzen; fifth of September, got out of the sound; eighth of November, came in sight of the Cape of Good Hope; and the twenty-sixth of St. Helen's. Here was joined by another yacht, called the *Hunter*, that had left Bantam in the month of March, but not venturing to double the Cape, had spent four months in the island of St. Maurice. They all arrived safe at home the twenty-fourth May 1604†.

And of two
Zealand
ships.

LAURENCE BICKER, who sailed with two ships from Zealand, found the King of Achin in the same friendly disposition he had discovered to Spilberg. Disgusted with the violence and treachery of the Portuguese,

* Among these was a carbuncle which weighed 400 carats, the largest, it is said, that was ever, till then, seen.—Van den Sande, p. 55.

† Recueil, &c. tome 4. p. 1.—158. Pontani Historia, lib. 2. c. 26. Thysii Historia Navalis, cap. 30. p. 141—144.

Portuguese, he was very desirous of cultivating an alliance with the Flemings; and, for this purpose, sent to the Netherlands three of the natives as his ambassadors *. Bicker had likewise the good fortune to fall in with a large and rich Portuguese carrack, in his return, near St. Helens. Though she had four hundred men on board, and the two Zealand vessels not above one hundred and twenty, she was taken †.

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Soon after, Van Neck, who had failed a second time for the East Indies, with six ships, the *Amsterdam*, the *Dort*, the *Harlaem*, the *Leyden*, the *Delft*, and the *Gouda*, returned, having accomplished a voyage of four years. These vessels left the Texel in June 1600, and when they had arrived, in October, at Annebon, it was agreed, that the Admiral, aboard the *Amsterdam*, with the *Delft*, and the *Gouda* which was only a yacht, being the three best sailers in the fleet, should proceed as expeditiously as possible to the market, and leave the other three to follow. They passed the Cape of Good Hope without meeting with any accident, though they felt

Voyage and
return of
Van Neck,

* One of them dying not long after, was interred in Middleburg; and a monument was erected with this inscription:

HIC. SITUS. EST.

ABDUL. ZAMAT. PRINCEPS. LEGATIONIS.

A. REGE. TAPROBANÆ. SEU SUMATRÆ.

SOLTAN. ALCIDEN. RAIETRA. LILLO. LAHE. FELALAM
MISSÆ.

AD ILLUSTRIS. PRINCIPEM. MAURITIUM.

CUM. DUABUS NAVIB. ZELAND. QUÆ. IN. DEDIT.

ACCEPERE. LIBURNICAM. LUSITANICAM.

VIXIT LXXI. OBIIT. ANNO MDLXXII.

PREFECTI SOCIETATIS INDICÆ.

H. M. P. C.

Thyſius, p. 150. Pontanus, p. 204.

† Thyſii Historia Navalis, cap. 32. p. 149. Pontanus, p. 203. Grotius, p. 427. The carrack was valued at 1,500,000 florins.—Van den Sande, p. 48.

BOOK III. 1604. felt the force of the currents, and were several times attacked by the violent storms common in that region. They came in sight of Sumatra the twenty-second of March 1601; steered their course south-east along the coast; entered the Sound; and passing a number of islands, arrived at Bantam, where they got some refreshments, but were told that they would not be able to procure more than a lading for one vessel. On this account, the *Delft* was loaded, and sent home.

Ternate.

VAN NECK, with the other two vessels, passed Celebes and Gilolo, two islands between Macassar and the Moluccas, and anchored, second June, in the road of the island of Ternate. The King himself came on board to congratulate them on their arrival. He brought along with him Francis Vander Doës, and three other Flemings, who had come there in the vessels fitted out by the new Company, but had continued in the island after their departure. Next day, the King, with some of his attendants, paid Neck another visit. It was Sunday, and the Flemings were all so much engaged in their devotions, that only one of the officers attended him, and, with a batton in his hand, to take care that none should go below deck. The King, observing that the officer did not kneel as the rest did, made him a sign to fall down; and being told, that he was appointed to keep guard, took the batton out of his hand, and assured him, that he himself would prevent any of his people giving disturbance. Accordingly, the officer kneeled, and joined in the service, while the King holding the batton, kept guard till the prayers and sermon were ended. He was entertained at dinner by the Admiral, to whom he expressed his surprise at the order and decency of their worship, which, he

he said, was entirely different from the accounts Book III.
 he had got of it from the Portuguese.

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THE Admiral, understanding that the Portuguese who were in the island of Tidor, where they possessed a fortress, intended to attack him with four vessels, one of which was a ship of Rotterdam they had taken, asked leave of the King to go out, and meet them; and shewed him a commission from Prince Maurice, written in Portuguese and Arabic. The King desired three days to deliberate, and to have the advice of his ministers. In the mean time, he received a letter from the Portuguese, representing the Flemings in the most odious light, and asserting, that their design was to pillage the country, and drive him from his dominions. Notwithstanding, he granted the request of the Flemings, and told them, that he himself would be a spectator of the combat. Accordingly, they set sail, and met the Portuguese. An engagement ensued, in which the Admiral received a shot from a cannon, which carried off his right hand, and the right leg of the master of his yacht. Three men were killed aboard his vessel, and one aboard the yacht. The King of Ternate, who was in his pirogue, and saw what passed, sent a message to Neck, earnestly begging that he would desist; which he did the more readily that his ship was very much damaged. The Admiral recovered of his wound; but the master of the yacht died. When Van Neck returned to Ternate, he finished the building of a small sloop that had cost him above six weeks work. While he was preparing to go away, the King gave him and his crew an entertainment, where they were feasted with every thing that the island produced. One of the officers and five men were left behind when he again set sail, seemingly much to the regret of the natives.

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Macao.

NECK kept along the coast of Celebes till the fourteenth August; but the wind, blowing from the south-south-west, and not allowing him to sail for Patana, as he had proposed, he resolved to take his route towards the coast of China, and to make a trial of carrying on trade in the great river of Canton. Passing the Philippine islands, he found himself, on the twentieth September, among some islands belonging to the Empire of China. In his course, he observed a large town pretty regularly built. This sight was unexpected; and he was still more surprised, when, upon enquiring at the crew of two small Chinese barks, and who came aboard as soon as he had cast anchor, he was told, that it was the town of Macao, the only place in China where the Portuguese were permitted to trade. He did not imagine that he had advanced so far up the river of Canton. He dispatched his boat with a man who could speak the Malais language, and another who spoke the Spanish, in order to get certain information of the state of affairs. Next morning, and before the boat returned, a great number of people were assembled upon a hill. The Admiral immediately sent his pilot, in the new sloop, to sound near the shore, and to know, if he might bring his vessel nearer the town. But though there was sufficient depth of water, such a wind arose, that so far from venturing to take up his anchor, he was obliged to let down another. The natives, perceiving his situation, and that the sloop had not returned to the ship, sent five armed joncks to attack her. The crew of the sloop, seeing them approach, set out to sea, but were soon overtaken, and though they made a bold resistance, were boarded, and forced to yield. Neck lost by this means his first pilot, his quarter-master, and a few sailors belonging to the yacht. He used all his efforts to take some of
the

the joncks, but failed ; and though he wished much to send letters to Macao, to reclaim the prisoners, he could not procure a proper opportunity. He was often attacked by storms which threatened to dash his ship in pieces on the shore. For these reasons, he determined to continue his route to Patana. In this course, he stopped, the thirteenth October, in a very large bay, in eleven degrees forty-five minutes, which he called the *Bay of Folly*, because he got here a certain fruit resembling a prune, that deprived those who ate of it to excess of their memory for several days.

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WHEN he arrived before Patana, in seven degrees one third, north latitude, on the seventh November, he endeavoured to fix a price with the Sabandar at which he might have pepper. After many conferences it was agreed, that he should pay at the rate of thirty reals of eight for the barre, weighing about three hundred and eighty pounds of Holland weight, and three *per cent.* by way of impost, a duty that belonged to the Queen Regent. While the pepper was putting aboard, the Admiral and several of the crew went often ashore, and visited the town. It was long and narrow, surrounded on the land side with a morass ; enclosed, after the manner of that country, with a wooden palisade ; and provided with cannon. On the side next the sea, a small river run along by the back part of the town. In one of the pagodas, or temples, which the Siamese had here, was a gilded statue, very large, of the figure of a man sitting, with one hand low down, and the other raised. On each side was a gilded dragon ; and near these, two statues, one representing a man, the other a woman, both having their hands clasped together as if employed in their devotions. In another pagoda, they saw an idol, one half of which was

BOOK III. gilded, the other half painted red. In a third, they saw one which had rays gilded upon the breast. There were, likewise, numbers in the town who professed the religion of Mahomet, and had mosques richly ornamented. The country was fertile, abounding in all kinds of fruits, and producing rice and pepper in great plenty. It was well stored with animals; as oxen, cows, deer, and swine. The natives were well proportioned; fierce and haughty in their temper; and assuming great appearance of state. Such as were rich never came abroad unless accompanied by a number of their domestics. At this time, the government was in the hands of a Queen, who had enjoyed it fifteen years from the death of her husband. She seldom appeared in public; but when she went abroad, was generally attended by a train of near four thousand men of better rank, and a number of elephants carrying the arms of the late King, clothes, furniture, and such things as might be needed. The Queen herself rode on an elephant richly caparisoned. She received the Flemings with great hospitality; regaled them with confections of various sorts; and told them, that they should be always welcome to Patana. There were in the town as many Chinese as natives. Four different languages, or dialects, were spoken; the Patanese, the Siamese, the Malais, and the Chinese. Adultery was punished with death here, as in all the neighbouring countries. The father of the criminal, or, if the father was dead, his nearest relation, was obliged to be executioner. But the criminal was allowed to chuse the manner of his death. The commerce between the sexes, when the parties were unmarried, was reckoned no crime; and the women were lascivious to the last degree. The air of the country is healthy, though the climate is very warm. The summer begins in February, and lasts

lasts nine months; during all which time, the wind constantly blows from the same point. In November, December, and January, it rains almost incessantly. The ground was laboured by buffaloes, or oxen, and sown with rice, which it produced plentifully.

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NECK left Patana the twenty-third of August 1602, and a few days after, anchored on the coast of Java. Here he took in some wood; afterwards, passed through the Straits of Sunda; and arrived at St. Helen's, the second of March 1603. He staid there some time, to refresh his men, who were so sickly, that, of a hundred and twelve aboard, not above twenty were in health. The tenth of April, he crossed the Equinoctial for the fourth time, and the fifteenth of July 1604, arrived at Rammekins in Zealand.

AT St. Helen's, Neck learned, that the three ships of his fleet, the *Dort*, the *Harlaem*, and the *Leyden*, which separated from him on the tenth of October 1600, had already been there, in their way home. In pursuing their voyage, they anchored in the Road of Sumatra, the twelfth of June 1601. When one of their boats went ashore, the disposition of the natives appeared so favourable, that three of the crew remained after the boat returned to the ships. But, next day, the natives would not allow any of the Flemings to land; and, after using all their efforts to recover their companions, to no purpose, were obliged to set sail. They touched at Bantam, where they staid a few days; next, at Camboya; and, in the end of September, at a point of land, where they continued until the middle of February next year. Here the natives attempted to take their vessels; but, though they failed in this design, the Flemings lost, on that occasion, twenty-three men. The Admiral

BOOK III.
1605.

and his Lieutenant, who had gone ashore, were taken prisoners. They were released with great difficulty, and by giving two pieces of cannon as their ransom. The next place at which they stopped was Kayhan. They were advised to be upon their guard, as the King of that country designed to surprise their ships. He promised to furnish them some pepper. But, when two of the boats, well armed, were put ashore, and it appeared that he really had no intention to fulfil this engagement, the crew set fire to one of the villages. Arriving on the coast of Petani, the twenty-eighth of December, they remained there for seven months, during which time they compleated their cargo. Afterwards, they returned to Bantam, where they met with the *Erasmus* of Rotterdam, commanded by Corneille Vander Veen, who had come from China, and taken in his route a Spanish carrack. The *Harlaem* was so much damaged that she was not in a condition to make the voyage home. On this account she was burnt, and her cargo put aboard the other ships, which arrived safe in the Texel the thirtieth of August *.

James
makes peace
with Philip.
Aug. 28.

THE pacific disposition of James of England, and the attachment which he had shown to Spain, gave great uneasiness to the Confederates. Both Philip and Arch Duke Albert used every means to improve the present temper of the English monarch to their own advantage; and hoped, that if the Confederates were deprived of his assistance, they would be ready to submit to any terms. Besides the Ambassadors who had gone to London, to congratulate James upon his accession to the Throne,

* Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi, &c. tom. 3. p. 206—289. Pontani Historia Amstel. lib. 2. c. 26. Arthus Historia Indiæ, c. 5. et 35.

Throne, Philip sent Ferdinand Velasco, Constable of Castile, Alexander Rovedius, a Senator of Milan, to whom Albert joined Richardot and Verreiken, with a view to induce him to enter into a treaty. Many in the English Council strenuously advised the continuance of the war. They pled that it would be dishonourable to break the ancient alliance with the Flemings; and asserted, that, unless England and the United Provinces were in friendship, trade would be hurt; that such an alliance was the only method of preserving the superiority at sea, on which the safety of Britain depended; and that it would be to the highest degree dangerous, by deserting the Confederates, to force them either to yield to the Spaniards, or to put themselves under the protection of France.

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BUT, these arguments were urged in vain. James gave way to his own inclinations; insisted that Britain was able to maintain the peace, and defend herself, whatever might be the designs of Philip; and alleged, that the Confederates were now in a condition to support the war by their own internal strength. He rejected, however, the proposal of joining his arms with those of Philip; but consented to a peace, by which it was stipulated that the navigation and trade between the two kingdoms should be equally free as before the war; without any particular mention of America or the East Indies, because the English would never agree to be formally excluded from these countries, and the Spaniards were obstinate in refusing to admit them; that neither of them should give any assistance to each others enemies or rebels; that the English should be discharged from carrying goods from the Confederated Provinces into Spain, or Spanish goods into these Provinces; that though the cau-
tionary

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tionary towns of Brille and Flushing, with the Castle of Rammekins, could not, consistently with the treaty made by Elisabeth, be delivered up to Philip, yet the garrisons should be prohibited from giving the Confederates assistance, under any pretence whatever; and that a convenient time should be allowed the Confederates to make peace with the Arch Duke, which if they declined, upon reasonable conditions being offered, his Majesty would consider himself as at liberty to do with these towns what he should think just and honourable*.

IMMEDIATELY after this treaty, James applied to the General Estates, to allow the vessels of his subjects to pass through the Schelde to Antwerp, upon their paying the same duties with their own subjects. They refused to comply with this request, insisting, that he had no reason to be offended if they imposed restrictions upon the navigation of a river within their own territories; and that it was absolutely necessary that nothing should be carried to their enemies, without the vessels being, at least, first changed, that it might be the more certainly known what supplies they received †.

Several
plans pro-
posed for a
peace.

DURING the winter, the mention of a peace was again renewed, and books were published on the subject. One writer proposed, that the Confederates should submit to the government of the Arch Duke; and in order to remove all jealousy of Spain, that his Catholic Majesty should renounce

* Grotius, p. 453. Winwood's Memorials. Haræus.

† Grotii Historia, lib 13. p. 454. In the year 1604, died Peter Mansfeldt, at that time Governor of Luxemburg, who, for forty years, had served the King of Spain, with great fidelity: and Lewis of Nassau, who, ambitious to reach the fame of his ancestors, had, though a young man, given many proofs of abilities and courage. Grotius, p. 455.

nounce every right he had to the United Pro-
vinces; that in no case whatever the Provinces
should become part of the dominions of the King
of Spain, but should rather devolve upon some
other of the descendents of Ferdinand and Maxi-
milian; that the Prince of the Netherlands should
never be Emperor; and, if no Prince remained of
the House of Austria but his Catholic Majesty or
the Emperor, that, in this case, the Confederates
should be at liberty to elect a Prince for themselves.
Another author recommended to Albert, to de-
clare the Confederates free, upon receiving from
them a sum of money. At the same time, cer-
tain articles of a peace were circulated; and like-
wise a long admonition in answer to them, in which
the Confederates were warmly exhorted to main-
tain the defence of their liberties. The vast ex-
pence which the war had cost, and the proof which
the siege of Ostend had afforded of the strength of
both parties being nearly equal, made many ima-
gine, that a reconciliation might be accomplished.
Some, who were inclined to the House of Austria,
maintained, that, in a short time, the United Pro-
vinces would, by internal dissensions, either be al-
together ruined, or become an easy prey to some
foreign Prince. It was thought that they would re-
turn to obedience, provided to the former laws
were added, That the Provinces should not de-
volve to the King of Spain; that trade should be
free; that a toleration in matters of religion should
be allowed; foreign soldiers dismissed; the Jesuits
expelled; the chief offices conferred on the na-
tives; and affairs of importance determined by
the General Estates. Others inclined to the in-
terest of France, and disclaimed all connection
with Albert, who, they said, enjoyed an empty
title without any power, and whose authority
among the soldiers was gone. They agreed, that
the

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the chief support of the Spaniards was the wealth of the Indies, which would necessarily fall into the hands of those who had the superiority at sea; and that if the French, during the struggle, should interfere, they would lay waste the whole country. They were of opinion, therefore, that the Confederates should put themselves under the protection of France, by which means they would enjoy, in common with the subjects of that kingdom, all the advantages resulting from their government*. In Germany, there were many, who, weighing against the power of Spain the many resources which the Confederates still possessed, and their past successes, concluded, That the United Provinces could not be subdued by force, and asserted, that it would be more honourable for Philip to employ his arms against the Turks, and compensate the loss of part of his dominions, by extending them in a different quarter. The Emperor, the Electors of Mentz and Saxony, and some other of the German Princes, desired the General Estates to grant passports to their ambassadors, and appoint a time and place for holding conferences. But they still discovered the same spirit, and gave the same answer to this as to the other proposals of the same kind, made them on former occasions; that, however desirous they were to put an end to the calamities of war, yet they were not willing to trust to promises which Philip had no intention to perform, and which, they had often found, were designed merely to deceive†.

NOTWITH-

* One writer, who advised the Provinces subject to Albert to commit themselves to the King of France, alleged, not only that his Majesty would willingly take them under his protection, but likewise, that in this step they would be joined by the Confederates. Ens. Historia.

† The answer made by the General Estates to the proposition of the Emperor's Ambassador, is inserted in Winwood's Memorials, vol. 2. p. 60, 61, and 62. Grotius, p. 457. Ens.

NOTWITHSTANDING Philip had by a new edict discharged all foreigners to sail to the East Indies, and ordered those who were there to return home, the Company of merchants in the United Provinces equipped another fleet for a voyage to these countries, and gave the command to Corneille Matelief, one of the Directors. It consisted of twelve vessels *, and had on board fourteen hundred men. The expence was calculated at one million nine hundred and fifty-two thousand two hundred and eighty-two livres †.

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A fleet sent
to the East
Indies.
May,

BOTH parties renewed their preparations for carrying on the war. New levies were made by Albert; and by the Confederates, in England and Germany. The Confederates, besides having their army encreased by the accession of the troops from Ostend, got some additional soldiers from France, and soon collected the money necessary for the operations of next campaign, though the requisition by the Council of State amounted to no less than six hundred and eighteen thousand three hundred and sixty-four florins monthly, for the ordinary expence; six hundred thousand, payable in one sum, for the extraordinaries of the army when in the field; five hundred thousand for the fortifications; three

State of
parties.

* Pontanus and Thyfius make the number of vessels in this fleet to be twelve; and Pontanus gives the name of each. The author of the account of the voyage, as it is inserted in tom. 5. of the Recueil, and Grotius, mention only eleven. It is probable there was a small yacht attending the fleet, of which they take no notice, as Pontanus has, in his list, one named the *Concord*, which they do not mention. Pontanus says, that four of them were of 700 tons burden; the author of the voyage, only three; and makes the *Nassau*, which Pontanus reckons of this size, to be only 320 tons.

† Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi, &c. tom. 5. p. 251 & 252. Thyfii Historia Navalis, p. 163. Pontani Hist. Amstel. p. 209. Grotius, p. 472.

BOOK III. ^{1605.} three hundred thousand towards extinguishing the debt due to England; four hundred thousand for the sea service; and a demand for liquidating the debt of the Provinces from the year 1599 to 1605 inclusive, which amounted to seven millions of florins. The subjects of Albert, on the other hand, were very unwilling to be at further expence; suspected the management of the revenues; and were encouraged in their reluctance to contribute, by the letters which they constantly received from the Confederates, exhorting them to shake off the yoke, and join in defending the cause of liberty. Albert himself so much dreaded the effects of their present disposition, that he was as averse as ever to grant leave for the General Estates to assemble, though it had been often and earnestly desired. He was afraid, lest by his refusing some of their demands, they should be so far irritated as to imitate the example of their neighbours, by renouncing his authority, and taking up arms against his government. These apprehensions, intimated to his friends by letters which were intercepted and sent to the chief persons in the Provinces under his jurisdiction, served much to cool their zeal in his service. He was obliged to permit the States of each Province to meet, and endeavoured to soothe the discontented by promising them part of the money brought to Spain by the Indian fleet, and assuring them that he would listen to a peace, if, for some time longer, they would act with vigour. Marquis Spinola went, about the end of the year, to the Court of Spain, where he was very honourably received by the King, who was so much pleased with his conduct, that he conferred upon him the order of the Golden Fleece, and appointed him Commander in Chief of all his forces in the Netherlands. He was sent back with a considerable sum of money, and a promise of a supply of troops,
not

not only from Spain, but from Italy and Lombardy.

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THE Confederates were first in motion. Maurice, after consulting with the General Estates, proposed to attack Antwerp, still considerable for its trade. His design was to cut the dykes; make the Schelde overflow the adjacent country; and pitch his camp, at the same time, on the higher grounds. Some advised to march his troops in the night-time from Catzand; but he preferred transporting them in a fleet. Accordingly, he went to Bergen-op-zoom, while Ernest of Nassau brought the rest of the army from Zealand in ships. The whole army consisted of fifteen thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, the greater part of which got into the Schelde, under the conduct of Ernest, and passed a Spanish fort on the bank of that river. But when he came near Antwerp, he found all the shore covered with troops, who fired upon him as often as he was within reach of the cannon. Spinola, informed of Maurice's intention, had taken care to have all the dykes well guarded. Ernest, though thus disappointed, and, by the wind blowing towards the Brabant side, prevented from landing where he designed, resolved to make a trial, and, by means of small barks, put ashore four hundred of his men. They were attacked by the Spaniards; about one hundred of them were killed; eighty were taken prisoners; and the rest with difficulty got back to the boats. The plan having failed, Ernest took his route to Oosterweel where he disembarked the troops, and from thence marched to Eckeren, and joined Maurice. The Castle of Wouda near Bergen-op-zoom surrendered, after a siege of five days; a small compensation for the expence of this expedition.

Unsuccessful attempt upon Antwerp.
May 17.

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THE next proposal made by the General Estates was to secure the command of the Rhine, in order to prevent the Spaniards from entering the part of the country that was exposed; but by Maurice's advice, it was determined to march the army into Flanders, and provide for the safety of Sluys. It was hoped, that the fort of Sas-van-Ghent might be gained, which would put it in their power to attempt some places of consequence in that neighbourhood, or, at least, divert Spinola from undertaking any enterprise of importance. But the Marquis immediately followed Maurice with an army consisting of thirteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse, and took his station at Buckholt, where he could observe the motions of the Confederates. The armies being in sight of one another, slight skirmishes daily happened*.

Some Spanish troops
taken at sea.

IN the mean time, the Confederates had the good fortune to deprive the enemy of a reinforcement of troops from Spain. Spinola, considering the vast expence, and many inconveniences, of bringing them by land, as formerly, intended, for the future, to transport them by sea, and to put them ashore in Flanders. One thousand two hundred soldiers, who had been employed in the war in Ireland, were taken on board at Lisbon in eight transports and some small barks. This fleet, composed partly of German, and partly of British vessels, the better to conceal its destination, was committed to the care of Pedro Cubiara, who was instructed to avoid the French coast, and, if he could not make any harbour in Flanders, to steer for the British coast, where he would be protected by the interposition of the Spanish Ambassador, and receive the troops hired in England. The General Estates

* Grotius, p. 459.—Baudart, tome. 2. p. 386.

Estates had appointed William Hautein, Admiral of Zealand, to cruise in the Channel. He met with Cubiara, near Dover, attacked his ships briskly, and forced them to disperse. One of the Spanish vessels, much shattered, ran ashore; many of the crew were killed; some escaped by swimming; and some were taken aboard of English vessels lying there. Another of them was assaulted by two Zealand ships, and all the three stuck in the sand; but as the Zealanders were light, they got off, and made a prize of the enemy. The whole crew and soldiers were, in consequence of a cruel order given by the Estates, thrown into the sea. Next day, some more ships were taken, and the same barbarity exercised. The men were tied two and two to each others backs; and, in this manner, drowned. One half of the Spanish ships and men were destroyed; the other half escaped into the harbour of Dover. The troops, despairing to cross the sea before winter, encamped on the shore; but, destitute of every thing, were almost starved. Many of them died; and among these, Cubiara himself. The rest, after remaining in England for nine weeks, found an opportunity of getting over to Dunkirk*.

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THE

* Monson's Naval Tracts, book 2. p. 217. Thyssii Historia Navalis, cap. 36. Ens. Bentivoglio. Grotius. The Spanish Ambassador asked of James to undertake for the safe conducting of the Spaniards to some of the Arch Duke's harbours in Flanders. This James positively refused, because "it would openly make himself a party in their quarrel against the States, to which he was neither disposed, nor any way obliged."—Relation of what passed near Dover, in Winwood's Memorials, vol. 2. p. 82. In this relation it is said, that the Spaniards lost about 400 men; that five of the vessels were preserved in Dover; that the rest were either taken or burnt; and that none would have escaped, if the States ships had not been forced by the artillery of the fort of Dover, to retire.

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Spinola
passes the
Rhine.

July.

THE troops who marched by land from Italy, arrived safe in Spinola's camp. As his army was, by this addition, much encreased, he resolved to delay no longer the execution of a design he had long meditated of crossing the Rhine, and advancing into Friseland. While Maurice was busy in fortifying Isendyke, Spinola amused him with false alarms. Bucquoy, with a good body of troops, was dispatched to the other side of the Rhine, and passed it, to the great terror of all the German cities in that neighbourhood, which had lately suffered so much by a like irruption conducted by Mendoza. At Keyserfwaert, a small town belonging to the Archbishop of Cologne, he built a fort, and another on the side towards Cologne, to preserve the passage; threw a bridge over the river; and by means of it had conveyed to him a large store of provisions. When Maurice heard of these motions, he concluded that the enemy intended to besiege Rhineberg, because it would be dangerous to leave that place behind them, if they designed to penetrate farther into the country; and, therefore, sent his brother Henry and Count Ernest, with four thousand foot, and two thousand horse, to secure that town. Even Spinola's officers were, as yet, ignorant of his plan. When the necessary preparations were made, he told them, that he had taken possession of the passage over the Rhine, in order, first to seize upon Linghen, and from thence to march into

retire. Caron, in a letter to Winwood, says, that, to the King himself, he called the request of the Spanish Ambassador, "*une trop incivile demande*;" but adds, "*toute fois je voy l'Ame du Roy est si paisible qu'elle ne denie rein.*" Ibid. p. 84. The answer by the General Estates to a proposition made by the English Ambassador on this subject, is inserted in Winwood's Memoirs, vol. 2. p. 87, 88, and 89. The States strongly express their surprize at the request.

into Friseland ; that the success of the expedition depended, in a great measure, upon secrecy ; and that, as they must necessarily go through a neutral country, the strictest discipline must be observed. It was debated in his council, whether to demolish the forts already raised by Bucquoy, or to retain them. Though most of the officers were of opinion, that they ought to be abandoned, because it would not be safe to weaken their forces when they were going into the enemy's territories, yet Spinola ordered them to be garrisoned with six thousand foot, and five hundred horse, the greater part new troops, and not so fit for undertaking a long march. Frederick de Berg was left with an equal number in Flanders. The remaining part of the army, amounting to nine thousand foot, and two thousand horse, was thought sufficient for ensuring success to the enterprize, as the Confederates troops must be divided to oppose Berg, and were not prepared for following Spinola into a country where, for want of rivers, they could not employ their fleet. The foot marched in three divisions, each accompanied with a certain number of cannon. The flanks were defended by the carriages, and the front and rear by the horse. Such was the authority of the Marquis, and the good effect of the regulations he established, that the army was plentifully supplied with all kinds of provisions, and no disorder committed.

ENTERING the Province of Overijssel, Spinola arrived at Oldenzeel, only one day's journey from Linghen. He immediately opened his trenches against that town. The garrison, consisting of four hundred men, made some sallies ; but unable to oppose such a superior force, and having no hopes of any succour, soon surrendered upon honourable conditions.

Takes
Oldenzeel,
August 11.

THE

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1601.

and Linghen
August 18.

THE next day the whole of the Catholic army appeared before Linghen. As the town was conferred upon Maurice by the General Estates, in reward for his services, he had begun to fortify it at his own expence; but the works were not as yet finished. The garrison consisted of six hundred soldiers, all new raised and unexperienced men, none of whom could manage the artillery with any skill. The enemy, without opposition, advanced to the very ditch, and planted their guns in several quarters. They attempted to draw off the water from the ditch; but finding this impracticable, from the situation of the ground, they soon filled up part of it with faggots and other materials. When the Walloons had got possession of the bulwark opposite to their station, Martin Cobbe, the Governor, with the consent of the other officers, agreed to surrender, to the great joy of Spinola, who imagined that so important an acquisition would have cost him much more labour. Cobbe and his officers came to Deventer, while preparations were making for the relief of Linghen. Maurice was so enraged at their dastardly conduct, that he dismissed the officers, and put Cobbe in prison, where he remained for more than a year.

SPINOLA was likewise guilty of an error. He continued at Linghen until the fortifications were put in order. Whereas, if he had pursued his march, Coeverden, Bourtang, and other places, which would have served him as a passage into Friseland and Groningen, must have yielded, as they were not at that time provided for an attack, and had no more than their ordinary garrisons. This delay afforded to the Confederates, who were alarmed with the loss of Linghen, leisure to take measures for the security of these places. The General Estates published an edict prohibiting all persons

persons to carry provisions of any kind to Spinola's camp; and Maurice, with William of Nassau, and seven thousand foot, and two thousand horse, marched to Coeverden, to watch the enemy's motions, and to protect the interior parts of the country.

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DURING Spinola's expedition into Friseland, the Arch Duke hoped to seize upon some towns by surprize. Grobbendonck's troops went to Grave in the night time. They carried flying bridges, and scaling ladders. But finding the garrison and citizens in arms, they did not venture to make the assault.

Attempts
upon
Grave

A LIKE attempt upon Bergen-op-zoom was also unsuccessful. It was conducted by one Terraile a Frenchman, who, leaving his native country, first offered his services to the Confederates, which being rejected, because he demanded too great a recompence, afterwards joined the Spaniards. He was a man of a bold and enterprising spirit, and reckoned a very skilful engineer. The Arch Duke furnished him with one thousand five hundred foot, and three hundred horse, under the command of Torricourt, Governor of Hulst. They got, in the night time, and when the water was low, through the marches to the very harbour, where they seized upon two forts, deserted by the garrisons as soon as they appeared. Had they directly proceeded to the town, it must have submitted, as the garrison and citizens were in the utmost confusion. They made an attack upon one of the gates; but the powder in a petard which they had fixed to it, and their hand-grenades, having been wet in their march, did no execution. The sea-flowing obliged them to retreat, and abandon the forts they had taken. Not discouraged with this disappointment, they returned in a month

and Bergen-
op-zoom
fail.

S

after,

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after, and taking advantage of a very dark night, assaulted the town in three different places at once. They reached the top of one of the ramparts, and beat down two of the gates and a draw-bridge. But, by the bravery of Baxen, the Governor, and the assistance of the citizens, they were repulsed with considerable loss.

Wachten-
donck be-
sieged.

THE building of the two forts near Keyserfwaert excited complaints in Germany. The Arch Duke, not willing that the Princes should be again irritated, gave orders to Spinola to demolish them, and erect two others at Roroort, not only a more convenient situation, but in the jurisdiction of Mœurs, which belonged to the enemy. As the season still continued favourable, and the Catholic army was reinforced by two regiments, one of them from Italy, the other, composed of English, Scots, and Irish, Bucquoy was dispatched with five thousand foot, and one thousand horse, to lay siege to Wachten-donck, one of the strongest towns in Gueldres, and which, it was thought, the Confederates would not venture to relieve, at the hazard of putting themselves in the middle betwixt the main army under Spinola, and this detachment under Bucquoy.

Maurice
retreats.

MAURICE, afraid that the enemy would easily advance farther into that country, kept near the Yssel, and encamped by Wesel, in hopes of attacking them with advantage when thus divided. Some regiments of foot, and a few horse, were quartered in the village of Mullem, on the banks of the Roert. On the other side of the Roert was the castle of Burick, where Velasco with another party was stationed. Maurice appointed three thousand foot, and two thousand horse, to march in two divisions, and by two different roads; one, under
the

the command of his brother Henry, to make the attack upon the Castle; and the other, under Bax, to pass the Roert, and to cut off the enemies retreat. But Henry, with the horse, by waiting for the coming up of the foot, gave the Spaniards time to assemble; and his men, finding that they were not unprepared, as was expected, basely took to flight. Bax, in the mean time, pushed on, though opposed by some horse; and Henry appeared with such of his men as he could rally. This gave the Confederates fresh spirits, and the combat was maintained with equal bravery on both sides. Velasco, who was accidentally in Spinola's camp, no sooner heard of the alarm at his quarters, than he brought up six hundred foot, which so disheartened the assailants that they yielded, and lost all hopes of victory. Their only concern now was to make an honourable retreat; and it was so well conducted, that the enemy, instead of pursuing, were beat back in great numbers. The fortune of the day might have changed, had not Spinola, with two thousand more men, come out of his camp, and by sending before him some drummers on horseback, made the Confederates believe that his whole army was on the march. Maurice retired with all speed. The loss on both sides was considerable; three hundred of the Catholics being killed or wounded, and five hundred of the Confederates*.

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BUCQUOY's operations before Wachtendonck were in the mean time carried on with great expedition. In eight days after he had begun the siege, he

Wachten-
donck sur-
renders.
Oct. 27.

S 2

* This is the account of the loss given by Bentivoglio. Grotius says, that it was nearly equal on both sides. But some other Flemish writers make the loss of the Catholics no less than 1500 men, and that of the Confederates only 200. Ens says, 500 of the Catholics were killed, and 200 of the Confederates were amissing.

BOOK III. he secured a lodgment at the very foot of the walls,
 1605. by drawing off the water from the ditch. The garrison, though consisting of more than one thousand two hundred men, made no opposition, trusting to the number and strength of the fortifications. But scarcely had the besiegers opened their mines, when Richoven, the Governor, surrendered.

Castle of
Cracow
taken.
November.

BUCQUOY went from Wachtendonck to the castle of Cracow, and took it without any resistance; while Maurice made an unsuccessful attempt upon Grave, in which Philip Morney, son of Du Plessis Morney, a young man who had followed the camp to learn the art of war, was killed *.

THE advanced season of the year obliged both parties to put their troops into winter-quarters. Spinola first left the field, after having completed the fortifications about the Roert. The Confederates horse falling in with Grobbendonck's troop, dispersed it, and took some prisoners †.

A Dunkirk
vessel taken.

IN the month of December, three vessels from Dunkirk were pursued by some ships belonging to the Confederates. Two of them escaped; the third, attacked by Lambert of Rotterdam, made an obstinate defence. But, upon the Captain being killed, and Gerbrand of Enckhuysen coming up, she struck. Of a hundred and twenty men, only eighty-nine remained. Sixty of them were instantly hanged; but the rest were either pardoned, or escaped. The Confederates had only three men killed, and twelve wounded ‡.

THE

* Carnero, lib. 16. c. 3, 4, 5, 6, et 7. Bentivoglio, p. 3. l. 7. Grotius, l. 14. Baudart, tom. 2. p. 389—402. Ens. Haræus.

† Grotius, lib. 14. p. 471.

‡ Thyssii Historia Navalis, cap. 37. Grotius, p. 471. Ens.

THE conduct of Spinola procured him great honour. When he went to Madrid, during the winter, he was received by Philip with every testimony of esteem and confidence. He had convinced the Arch Duke that it was necessary to keep in the field two armies, one of which should continue to act beyond the Rhine, and endeavour to cross the Yffel; the other, pass the Wahal, seize on some place in the island of Betawe, and attempt to advance into the Province of Holland. The King approved of this plan, and entertained the most sanguine expectations from the prudence and abilities of Spinola. But the chief difficulty lay in finding out the means for carrying those enterprises into execution, because they would require three hundred thousand crowns more than the amount of the usual contributions of the Provinces subject to Albert. The money got from Spain was all spent, and Albert owed the merchants six hundred thousand crowns. But, as Spinola refused to take the command of the army unless this money was furnished, promises were given him that the additional expence should be remitted from Spain; and Spinola himself borrowed two millions two hundred and sixty thousand crowns on his own credit, engaging to pay it, if not refunded by Philip in a limited time. This negociation detained Spinola in Spain longer than he intended, and he was stopped by a fever with which he was seized on his journey, so that he did not arrive in Brussels until the beginning of June*.

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1606.
State of the
Provinces.

THE General Estates, feeling likewise very sensibly the great burden of the war, resolved to stand chiefly on the defensive, and not to encrease their army

* Haræi Annales, tom. 3. p. 637. Carnero. Bentivoglio. Grotius.

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army beyond what they were well able to bear; especially, as they saw that it would be difficult to make any new levies of troops, either in France or Germany, owing to the disturbances in these countries; in the former, from a quarrel which had arisen between Henry and the Duke of Bouillon; in the latter, from a dispute between the city of Brunswick and the Elector. Notwithstanding these resolutions, the demands of the Council of State were six hundred and ten thousand florins a-month; for the expence of the camp, six hundred thousand; for fortifications, five hundred thousand; for payment of the debt due to England, three hundred thousand; and for the sea-service, four hundred thousand. The country of Drenthe was likewise charged with eight thousand florins a-month†. Upon a report that there was a great dearth in Spain, the General Estates issued an edict, expressly discharging all their subjects to carry corn, or any other goods, into that kingdom; and in order to distress their enemies the more, fitted out a fleet to attack them in their own harbours.

Hautein's
expedition
at sea.

TWENTY-FOUR ships, under command of William Hautein, were dispatched for this purpose; besides a number of vessels equipped by private persons. Hautein was instructed to intercept the fleet from America, and to prevent the Portuguese from sailing to India. He got considerable booty by taking a number of merchant ships, and caused such terror, that the Portuguese would not venture to sea, but despairing of making their voyage this year, unloaded the cargoes. With regard to the fleet from America, he learned, that one vessel laden with silver, falling in with a Flemish ship, an obstinate

† Ens.

obstinate engagement had ensued, in which both of them were burned; that three others had been destroyed by a tempest; and that four more were put into the Havanna. Hautein himself was obliged to return home early in the summer, and sooner than was expected, for want of victuals; contrary winds having prevented his meeting with the ships sent after him with fresh provisions*.

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1606.

TERRAILLE, ever since the disappointment he received in his design against Bergen-op-zoom, meditated revenge; and still more inflamed by being defeated in a skirmish with some of the Confederates horse, where he was wounded, and escaped with difficulty, hoped to recover his honour by seizing on some place by surprise. He pitched upon Brefurt, in the county of Zutphen, a town defended chiefly by a small castle. He accordingly passed the Rhine with five hundred Spanish horse, and spread a report that he was marching in quest of the cavalry belonging to the Confederates, which having conducted Count Ernest of Nassau to the borders of Brunswic, were returning through Paderborn, and plundering that country. But Maurice got intelligence of his real views, and warned the garrisons on the other side of the Rhine to be on their guard. Terraille, taking along with him one thousand two hundred foot from Oldenzeel, avoided Groll in his march, and making a large circuit, arrived before Brefurt, in the night time. Pretending that the troops he commanded were a party of the Confederates who were chased by the enemy, and obliged to fly thither for protection, he imposed upon the guard. By this means, he was allowed to come close to the gate, which he immediately forced open. The garrison thus unexpectedly attacked,

Brefurt surprised.
March 14.

* Thyſii Historia Navalis, cap. 39. Grotius. Ens.

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but is re-
covered.
March 22.

tacked, and not prepared to make any resistance, having celebrated the conclusion of Lent by feasting and drinking all night, ran precipitately into the castle, and demolished the bridge over the ditch. Laurvic, the Governor, sent information of what had happened to the neighbouring towns, and craved assistance. Some troops soon arrived from Overijssel; broke through the Spanish entrenchments; and got into the castle. On the other hand, Lewis de Velasco dispatched four hundred foot to support Terraille. But they were afraid to enter the town; and, upon their returning back, were dispersed by a party of the Confederates horse. Henry Frederick left the Hague, gathered together some foot, joined the horse coming from Paderborn, and attacked the Spaniards with such fury that he obliged them to capitulate. They were allowed to go away with their arms and baggage, but agreed to restore all the booty they had taken, and the prisoners whom they had sent to Oldenzeel.

An attempt
upon Sluys
unsuccessful.
June 12.

TERRAILLE, not discouraged with this defeat, made a still bolder attempt. Two Spanish deserters had lived for some time in the town of Sluys, and carefully observed its condition. They again joined their former friends, and acquainted them that it might be easily surprised, because there was no guard kept upon the bridge towards Catzand. The garrison imagined that the town was perfectly safe from that quarter, where the ground was low, and where there were a number of small forts, which an enemy, it was thought, could not pass unobserved. Upon the intelligence given by the deserters, it was resolved, that Terraille, with one thousand two hundred Walloons and Irish, should march to Sluys, while Frederick de Berg, with another detachment of one thousand three hundred foot,

foot, should be ready to assault the castle, as soon as the town was taken. Noot, the Governor of the town and neighbouring forts, learned that the enemy intended some enterprize. He sent notice to the several garrisons to be ready; but not suspecting that they would assault a town of so difficult access as Sluys, was entirely careless of its defence. Terraille got to the very ramparts without causing any alarm. He ordered part of his men to make a false attack upon the south side, with a view to draw the garrison that way, while he should endeavour to force the gate on the east. All was still quiet in the town, and Terraille entertained little doubt of success.

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A VERY singular accident frustrated his design. A particular hour was fixed for making the feigned attack. But the person who had the charge of the town clock, having, in winding it up in the evening, put it out of order, no hour was struck during the whole night. The party on the south side, therefore, waiting for the hour appointed, did nothing; and the other, not understanding the reason of this delay, began to suspect that their plan was discovered, and that some mischief had happened. Terraille, with much difficulty, prevailed with them to march up to the gate, and to break it open. Some of the guard were killed, and the rest took to flight. The Spaniards were very unwilling to enter, dreading from the silence that reigned in the town, and from no attack being made, as was proposed, on the other side, that some plot was laid for their destruction. They ventured at last, and had gone a considerable way before they met with any resistance. The preservation of the town was chiefly owing to Anthony Slingsby, Captain of an English company, who was the first that ran to arms. He went with
thirteen

BOOK III. ^{1606.} thirteen of his men to the gate, and finding no person there, dared to pursue the enemy. When he came near, he used a stratagem to intimidate them, and which produced the desired effect. Marching up briskly, as if followed by a great number of soldiers, he called aloud to the Serjeant to go to the Lieutenant, and tell him to advance with the three English companies, because the enemy was now in their power. Terraille had committed a mistake, in placing in the front his pikemen, who were less able to make head against shot than the musqueteers. They no sooner heard the orders of Slingesby than they turned their backs, and fled in confusion. Slingesby followed; and, joined by some more of the garrison, who came to his assistance, made terrible slaughter. Noot, likewise, by planting some cannon against them, and the garrisons of the different forts sallying out as they passed, killed great numbers. Frederick de Berg, who with two thousand men was ready to assault the castle, retreated to Bruges. A messenger, who was afterwards sent into the town to ransom the prisoners, declared that the Spaniards lost more than five hundred men. Albert was much displeased with this design having failed through the cowardice of some of the officers, and their delaying to proceed after the gate was set open. Two of them were, by a sentence of the council of war, beheaded. The General Estates rewarded Slingesby with a gold medal, on which was represented the action where his bravery was so distinguished; and, in testimony of their gratitude, fixed an appointment of fifteen florins a-month upon his son, then a child of three days old *.

THE

* Carnero, lib. 16. c. 8, 9. Grotius, p. 483. Baudart, p. 404—413.

THE fleet, under the comand of Stephen Van Hagen, returned in May, this year, from the East Indies. He sailed in December 1603; doubled the Cape of Good Hope, in June following; and cast anchor near the island of Mosambique, where, in the space of three months, he took two Portuguese carracks, and five small barks belonging to the Indians. While three of the fleet were left behind to cruise, the rest of the ships steered for the coast of Goa. Here they saw several of the enemy's galleys which they chased, but could not overtake; and farther up the river, near the Fort de Bardes, some ships of war, which they durst not attack, because the whole shore was lined with armed men. Goa is situated in 16 degrees in an island of about thirty-eight Flemish leagues in circuit, and was the principal place that the Portuguese had in all the Indies †. Their Viceroy kept his Court in that city. Five or six vessels came every year from Portugal to Goa, and as many returned. Winter, which continues during the months

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Return of
ships from
the Indies.
Mosam-
bique.

Goa.

† There were in the island people called Canarins, who, though they had some notions of a Supreme Being, worshipped a statue, represented as quite naked. The following is an instance of a very strange kind of superstition. “Lorqu'ils marient leurs filles, elles vont se prosterner devant cette Statue, qui est a demi-lieue d'une de leurs villes, et lui demander beaucoup de prosperité dans leur mariage. Après leurs prières, elles se decouvrent, et presentant leurs parties genitales a celles qu'on a faites a la Statue, et qui sont de fer, elles les pressent ensemble, jusqu'a recevoir celles de la Statue, et elles appellent cela lui offrir leur virginité. Qui s'il y a quelques filles qui par la honte, ou par la crainte de la douleur, ne veulent pas s'en approcher, leur parens, qui sont la presens, tâchent de les y porter par leur exhortations, et enfin les y aiant fait resoudre, ou les aiant contraintes de s'approcher, et de se presenter à la Statue, leurs plus proches parentes les pressent elles-mêmes, jusques-à-ce que l'operation soit faite.”

Recueil des Voyages, &c. tom. 5. p. 11.

Purchas Pilgrimage, book 5. ch. 9. sect. 2.

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months of May, June, and July, is very mild. The duties payable upon goods either bought or sold in Goa, imported or exported, amounted to eight *per cent.*; but they could generally be purchased at such a price as to afford a very good profit to the merchant. Such as bought spiceries and other goods from Malacca or China, were not obliged to pay any duties, as the seller, when the price was fixed, could put them aboard in his name, and send them where he pleased. Neither the Moors, nor Idolaters, were allowed to quit Goa, without having the arms of Portugal marked upon their body with a hot iron, that they might be ever afterwards known to be natives of that place.

Calicut.

THE fourteenth of October, eleven Portuguese ships of war came to Goa, and obliged the Flemings to retire. They shaped their course for Calicut, where they arrived on the twenty-seventh, and got a message from the King, desiring a conference with the Admiral concerning an alliance. The Admiral and some of his officers accordingly went ashore, and were kindly received. A treaty was made with the King, by which the Flemings were allowed the liberty, for ever, of trading in all places of his dominions. The three vessels which had been left behind having joined the fleet, the *Zealand* and *Enckhuysen* were dispatched to Cambaia, and the rest made for Cochin; but after ranging along that coast, without meeting any pilots to conduct them into a harbour, and not daring to enter without them, bore away for Bantam, having sent one of the vessels to Achin to put ashore the King's Ambassador who had returned with them from Holland. The fleet remained but a short time at Bantam; and going from thence, anchored, the twenty-first of February 1605, in the bay of Amboina, after taking in this route a Portuguese

Amboina
conquered.

guese vessel, that had on board the Governor of the Book III.
 Moluccas, who had come from Malacca. The 1606.
 next day, some of the crew were put ashore, and
 marched directly to attack the Portuguese fort.
 As soon as the cannon began to play upon it, the
 Governor offered to capitulate. After several con-
 ferences, it was agreed that the fort should be de-
 livered up; that such of the Portuguese as were not
 married should go away; that such as were mar-
 ried, might, if they chused, remain, but should take
 an oath of fidelity to the General Estates and Prince
 Maurice; that each of those who retired might
 carry away a musquet; but that all the cannon and
 ammunition should be left behind. In conse-
 quence of this capitulation, the Admiral took pos-
 session of the fort with fifty men. He found it
 well provided with cannon, thirty of which were
 brass, and warlike stores. The whole number of
 Portuguese who left the fort and island amounted
 to about six hundred, to whom the Admiral gave
 two of the vessels he had taken, that they might
 transport themselves elsewhere. Forty-six Portu-
 guese families remained, and took the oath of fide-
 lity. Thus easily was a very important acqui-
 sition gained. The conquerors provided the fort
 with every necessary for a year, and put a garrison
 into it under the command of Frederick Hout-
 man. After this success, it was resolved that five
 of the ships should go to Tidor; that the Admiral
 should make for Banda: and that the *Hoorn* should
 remain at Amboina, to procure a cargo.

IN pursuance of this plan, the five vessels an- and Tidor.
 chored at Tidor the second of May, where they
 found two carracks, which they took after an ob-
 stinate engagement. The greater part of the crew
 leaped into the water, and got ashore. The can-
 non were taken out, and the carracks burnt. The
 Portuguese,

BOOK III. Portuguese, however, appearing determined to defend their fort here to the last, the Flemings consulted with the King of Ternate what was proper to be done. He advised them to wait a few days, when he would have his troops ready, and they might jointly attack the fort, which, he said, had been lately furnished by the English with warlike stores and provisions. While the King of Ternate made his preparations, the Flemings applied to the King of Tidor to leave the decision of the quarrel between them and the Portuguese to themselves, and not to take any part in the affair; in which case, the King of Ternate would likewise stand neuter. To this proposal both Princes very readily consented. One hundred and fifty men were landed, and in their march towards the fort set fire to two villages. The King of Ternate came with fourteen of his ships, each having on board one hundred and forty men, and set ashore five hundred of them to be spectators of the combat, and to observe that the King of Tidor gave no assistance to the Portuguese. The Flemish fleet advanced towards the north side of the fort, and battered it with their cannon, while the troops on the land approached under their protection. A breach was soon made, and Captain Mol, who commanded the detachment, and seven of his men, entered after a long and obstinate combat. But the Portuguese who had retired into the tower fired upon them with so much fury, that they were obliged to retreat. In repassing the breach, the Captain fell and broke his leg. Some of his men offering their assistance, he refused to accept of it, and exhorted them to return to the assault. They were again unsuccessful, which so much encouraged the Portuguese, that they sallied out, and chased them back to their entrenchments. But a bullet from one of the ships falling among their powder, blew up
up

up the tower, and killed sixty or seventy men; and the Flemings, returning to the charge, the Portuguese lost courage, and demanded quarters. This victory cost the Flemings only two men; seven, besides Captain Mol, were wounded. The Portuguese lost seventy-three, and had twelve wounded. About five hundred retired to the Philippines. By this conquest, the Portuguese were in a manner chased out of the Moluccas, having now no more than one small fort in the island of Solon, near Timor. The fort of Tidor was demolished, and some Flemings were left in the island to cultivate the friendship of the natives. Immediately after this victory, one of the vessels took the route of Ternate, where she got a cargo of cloves, and then sailed home. The remainder of the fleet went to Bantam: from thence part of it sailed to Holland, and arrived safe with a rich cargo, besides the agreeable news of the Portuguese being banished from Amboina and Tidor; part continued in these seas for a considerable time longer; visited several places on the coast of Coromandel; and came home two years afterwards*.

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1606.

SPINOLA having now returned to the Netherlands, preparations were made for carrying into execution the plan he had projected. His army was reinforced with some new German and Walloon troops, and two thousand Spaniards, lately sent from Italy. Ten thousand foot, and one thousand two hundred horse, were put under the command of Bucquoy, who was ordered to march into the Betawe. Spinola himself, with eleven thousand foot, two thousand horse, and eight cannon, proposed to cross the Yssel; to get into the Velawe;

Spinola
takes
Lochin.
July 23.

* Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi, &c. tom. 5. p. 1—250. Pontani Historia Amstel. lib. 2. c. 26. Arthus Historia Indiae, cap. 45 & 46. Purchas Pilgrimage, book 5. chap. 3. § 4.

BOOK III. 1606. Velawe; take Utrecht; enter Holland; and harass that whole Province. This design was well contrived, and may be considered as a farther proof of Spinola's abilities. For, if these two armies met, the towns belonging to the Confederates, which were in the middle of these Provinces, and not strongly fortified, must have yielded, and such as were in the frontiers, though in a better state of defence, been cut off from all means of receiving either assistance or provisions. But the season proved very unfavourable; constant rains prevented Spinola's march through the marshy grounds into Friseland, and so swelled the Yffel as to render it impassable. The delay occasioned by these circumstances afforded Maurice an opportunity to collect an army of ten thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, with which he secured Deventer, Zutphen, and Doesburg, and encamped on the other side of the river, to watch his motions. Spinola, while he waited for the water subsiding, detached Borgia with three thousand foot, and five hundred horse, to attack Lochem, a small town, but conveniently situated. There were only three hundred men in garrison, who, upon the enemy's advancing to the ditch, surrendered.

Bucquoy
passes the
Maese.

IN the mean time, Bucquoy had crossed the Maese, and intended to pass the Wahal between Schenck's fort and Nimmeguen. With this view, he caused a great many small barks to be carried upon carts, and put into the river, for transporting his troops. Five thousand foot, and five hundred horse, were accordingly embarked; but they found the banks of the river so well secured by Dubois, to whom Maurice had given the charge of this quarter, that they thought proper to return back. Maurice was careful to prevent the enemy from gaining any advantage. He made redoubts along
along

along the side of the Wahal, with small garrisons in each, and placed so near, that they could make signals to one another. Some vessels were likewise appointed to ply upon the river, and the garrisons of the adjoining towns ordered to be ready to sally out upon a short notice. The other tract of ground on the banks of the Yffel was defended in like manner.

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SPINOLA, perceiving that it was in vain to think of penetrating any farther into the Confederated Provinces, determined not to leave the field until he had taken some place of importance. Zutphen and Deventer were the two most considerable towns in the neighbourhood; but he could not hope to get possession of any of them, because they were well fortified, and strictly guarded by Maurice. He therefore directed his operations against Groll, which was a town of some consequence in itself, and could, by its situation, protect Oldenzeel and Linghen. Groll lies in a plain, and was surrounded with a double ditch on all sides, except one part, where it was washed by the small river Linghen, that sufficiently served for its defence on that quarter. Spinola sat down before it in the beginning of August, and, in three days, brought his entrenchments to the outer ditch. The garrison consisted of one thousand three hundred men, commanded by Dort, an inexperienced officer. He made a sally when the enemy first advanced, but soon after deserted the works on the outside of the town. The citizens, observing that the Spaniards had immediately taken possession of them, and were preparing for a general assault, pressed the Governor to capitulate. Dort consented, notwithstanding he had got letters from Maurice, assuring him of assistance in two days, the garrisons being actually drawn out of the towns in Over-

T

yffel

Spinola
takes Groll.
August 14.

BOOK III.
1606.

yffel and near the Wahal, with a design to raise the siege. Spinola, who had heard of this intended succour, granted very honourable conditions.

and besieges
Rhineberg.

As the Spaniards were convinced that they could not succeed in any farther enterprizes in Overysfel, Zutphen, or the adjoining country, Spinola next proposed making an attempt upon Rhineberg. This town had undergone a variety of changes during the war; and both the Spaniards and Confederates, who, in turns, had been masters of it, sensible of its importance, contributed to add to its strength, by new fortifications. Bucquoy, whom Spinola had ordered to accompany him in the siege, decamped from Moocque, and, marching along the Rhine, approached the town on the side towards Brabant, and Spinola himself on the other, towards Friseland. But, before all the passes were shut up, Maurice dispatched from the camp his brother Henry, with a large detachment, which entered the town, and increased the number in garrison, formerly considerable, to three thousand foot, and two hundred horse. Several French nobility, among whom was a brother of the Duke of Rohan, voluntarily shut themselves up in Rhineberg, that they might have an opportunity of learning the method of conducting a siege, and the means of defence. They even took part in a sally made upon Spinola's quarters, where they behaved with great bravery. In a second, upon Bucquoy's quarters, the garrison was obliged to retire precipitately. While Spinola, after having joined his two camps by a bridge, battered the forts on the other side of the river, Edmund, who had the charge there, was killed by a cannon ball. He had served the Confederates from his youth; and, from a private soldier, been raised to be a Colonel of a Scots regiment. The garrison were so much discouraged

couraged with the death of this brave man, that they immediately abandoned their works on the bank, and retreated into the island.

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1606.

RHINEBERG now appeared to be in great danger. Maurice, therefore, not only consulted with his officers what course to take, but sent letters to the General Estates, begging their advice. They left the whole management to his own prudence and skill. He perceived that it would not be in his power to raise the siege, as the Spaniards were strongly entrenched, and were now reinforced with four other regiments under the command of Frederick de Berg. He, therefore, resolved to give Spinola as much disturbance as possible, and, by this means, to protract the siege so long that the season would not allow him to make any farther attempts. He, accordingly, lay on the watch near Wesel, considering that, even to force the Spaniards away from Rhineberg, would be of no great prejudice to their affairs; while, on the other hand, if, by hazarding a battle, he should be defeated, the United Provinces would be greatly exposed to the enemy. Maurice was afraid, lest Spinola if obliged to abandon the siege, should seize an opportunity of passing the Wahal and the Yffel. But, as his troops were impatient to fight, he gave them some employment, by making them pass the Lippe, and attack a fort built by the Spaniards where that river falls into the Rhine. The fort was taken; and he thus secured a passage for his troops, and might march wherever he pleased.

Is opposed
by Maurice.

THE Spaniards, though harassed by the frequent sallies of the besieged, came so near that they played upon the outer works with thirty pieces of cannon, and, at last, carried them, after an obstinate resistance. Advancing to the second ditch,

Rhineberg
capitulates.
Oct. 2.

Book III. ^{1606.} they made large breaches in the walls, and undermined the ramparts. Utenhoven the Governor, seeing that his powder was near exhausted, and that he could expect no relief, capitulated, on condition that he and his troops, consisting of about three thousand men, should be allowed to march out with their arms and baggage. The town, island, and such vessels as were in the river, were delivered to the Spaniards. Thus Spinola got possession of Rhineberg, in little more than a month after the siege was begun, a much shorter time than he could have expected. His loss of men, however, was considerable. Five hundred were killed, and many died of sickness; insomuch, that in some of the regiments scarce a third part remained.

Mutiny in
the Spanish
army.

SPINOLA had employed all his credit to procure money; but, at the end of the campaign, it was exhausted. A report having been spread, that four of the galleons from India were lost in a tempest, the merchants refused to lend him any more, and he had not a sufficient sum remaining for the pay of his troops. The consequence was, that part of them mutinied. Encouraged by the Confederates, and supplied with provisions by Justin of Nassau, their numbers daily increased. Amounting at last to two thousand, they left the Spanish camp, went to Breda, and there secured themselves. Spinola, in order to prevent the mischief from spreading farther, stationed in the neighbouring towns such of his men as he could trust, and dispersed the rest of his army over the country of Cologne, as Mendoza had done formerly.

Maurice
fails in an
attempt up-
on Groll.

THIS situation of the enemy's affairs led the Confederates to hope, that, notwithstanding the season was far advanced, they might still recover the towns which they had lost beyond the Rhine.

Their

Their army, after being joined by the garrison of Rhineberg, amounted to fifteen thousand foot and three thousand horse. Ernest, with part of them, was sent against Lochem, which he took in four days. At the same time, Maurice laid siege to Groll. Spinola was strongly inclined to march against him: But, when he mentioned his design to his officers, most of them were of opinion that it was too late in the year; that the army required rest; and that he could not depend upon the troops, who were much dissatisfied for want of pay. Spinola, considering that, on the other hand, the loss of Oldenzeel and Linghen would follow the surrender of Groll; and that the acquisition of Rhineberg would, in this case, be of little importance, persisted in his intention, and prevailed with seven thousand foot, and one thousand two hundred horse, to begin their march. The great rains which fell at this time retarded the operations of the siege; and Maurice, in expectation of more favourable weather, spared his men as much as possible. But, when he was informed that Spinola approached, he redoubled his diligence. Berg, who commanded in the town, still refused to yield; and, when Spinola advanced in good order, Maurice, not thinking his camp sufficiently fortified, and unwilling to hazard a battle, though the General Estates had given him liberty to engage, judged it proper to retire, and put his army into winter quarters. Spinola likewise placed his troops in garrisons, and went to Brussels, where he was received with that honour which was due to his important services*.

DURING these operations in the field, the Confederates were employing their efforts to distress the

A fleet sent to the East Indies.

* Carnero, lib. 16. c. 10.—14. Grotius, lib. 15. p. 483—489. Bentivoglio, p. 3. l. 7. Pise. Ens.

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the enemy by naval expeditions. The East-India Company were indefatigable in their attempts to extend their commerce, and to reduce the power of the Spaniards in a distant quarter of the world. A new fleet was equipped, the expence of which amounted to one million eight hundred and twenty-five thousand one hundred and thirty-five livres. It had a thousand and sixty men aboard, and was put under the command of Paul van Caerden, who had formerly made a voyage to the East Indies †.

Hautein's
second ex-
pedition.

THE General Estates again dispatched Hautein, in the end of summer, with a fleet consisting of twenty-one sail, to intercept the Spanish fleet from America. Six of the Flemish ships were beat back by a tempest: the rest fell in with a squadron, commanded by Fisciaro, who attacked them unexpectedly with four great galleons. The Spanish Admiral had likewise with him some galleys; but they were not engaged, being forced by the wind towards land. Such was the terror of the Flemings, and their dread of the galleons, that they bore away, and made all the haste they could to return home. The desperate resolution, however, of Regner Nicolai, who commanded a ship belonging to Zealand, was very remarkable. Though deserted by his companions, he maintained a fight for two days, during which he lost the greatest part of his men; and though his vessel was much damaged, obstinately refused to yield. When he perceived that there were no hopes of escaping, he prevailed with his crew to agree to put an end to their lives, rather than fall into the hands of the enemy. This they executed with the greatest coolness and deliberation. Kneeling down on the deck, they joined in solemn prayer

† Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi, &c. tom. 6. p. 316.

prayer to God, that he would forgive the deed which they were about to commit, in order to avoid the cruelty of the Spaniards; and, having finished their devotions, set fire to the powder. The ship was blown into the air; sixty men were killed; only two were taken up alive, but so miserably scorched, that they soon after died *.

Book III.

1606.

THE conclusion of a campaign, during which neither of the parties had gained any considerable advantage, revived the talk of a peace, and inspired hopes of an accommodation. The Arch Duke made, as formerly, the first advances. He sent Walrave de Wittenhorst to the Hague, in the spring, to propose a cessation of arms. But as Maurice and several of the Deputies of the States were, at that time, with the army, he could not procure an audience, and was advised to defer publishing his design. Returning again, in December, with John Gevart, Licentiate in the laws, and Secretary of Tournhout, he intimated to some of the principal men among the Confederates, that

New proposals for a peace.
December.

* *Thyſii Historia Navalis*, cap. 39. Grotius, p. 490. Ens.—Philip Hohenlo died this year. While Maurice was young he had the chief command of the Confederates troops. He was reckoned a brave soldier; but he wanted the prudence and conduct necessary to form an able General. After being superseded by Maurice, he became indolent, and spent his time in drinking; a vice to which he was always much addicted. John of Nassau, brother of William, Prince of Orange, died in Germany. The inheritance which belonged to their ancestors was divided between them; John having, for his share, what lay in Germany, and William that part which was in France and the Netherlands. John was for some time Governor of Gueldres; and when he afterwards took possession of his territories, supported the same cause in which his sons were engaged. Two of them, Philip and Lewis, fell in the field of battle; William, Governor of Friseland, and Ernest, survived their father.—This year was likewise fatal to Justus Lipsius, a man of great learning, and who acquired a high reputation by his writings.—Grotius, p. 496.

BOOK III.

1606.

that they had orders from Albert and Isabella to assure them, that, tired of so long and bloody a war, they were disposed to treat of a truce, or a peace, and to grant such conditions as could not reasonably be rejected; that they would demand nothing but what was their right; and that they were sincere in these professions. Though frequent conferences were held on this subject, yet, as Wittenhorst and Gevart had no letters addressed to the General Estates, nothing could be done publicly, until they should have ample powers from the Arch Duke.

Reasons
why a peace
was desired
by the Uni-
ted Pro-
vinces.

FROM this time, however, there was, in all parties, a stronger inclination for peace than had formerly appeared. In the United Provinces, there were some, who, finding their interest in the continuance of the war, opposed any plan for a reconciliation. Maurice himself was averse to a peace. But, it was soon evident, that, if the Arch Dukes Albert and Isabella did not insist for enjoying the Sovereignty of the Confederated Provinces, but would consent openly to renounce all pretensions to an authority they had already lost, the objections made to a treaty would be removed. The prodigious expence of the war, and the consequent load of taxes, were a burden, which, it was feared, the Confederates could not much longer bear. They had no ground to expect that aid from England which they so seasonably received at the commencement of the war*.

Henry

* A project had been formed for a closer union betwixt England and Spain. It was proposed by Philip, "to make
" an offensive and defensive league; and that James should
" do his best endeavours to reduce the Provinces to obedience;
" that the Prince of Wales should marry the Infanta; that
" some good parts of the Low Countries should be delivered
" to England; and that James should have an yearly pension
" of

Henry of France gave plain enough intimations Book III.
 that he was weary of contributing to the support 1606.
 of a quarrel from which he was to gain no advantage; and probably wished for nothing more than to see them so much reduced as to be forced to put themselves under his protection. Many suspected that they would at length adopt this measure, and seemed to think that it would be even more dangerous than returning back to their natural Prince, because the government of one nearer to them might prove still more tyrannical and oppressive. The abilities of Spinola excited fears; and his taking Groll and Rhineberg, last summer, were regarded as threatening farther losses. In states where commerce was now a principal object, nothing was so desirable to the great body of the people as peace. The General Estates,

“ of a million of ducats, and for security some principal towns
 “ in the Netherlands.” Though James refused to enter into the league, because it would give offence to their neighbours, the States would despair, and his mediation would have no effect; he proposed to Philip, That a peace might be made with the United Provinces, upon condition, “ That, instead
 “ of acknowledging the King of Spain for Sovereign, *they*
 “ *should yield their Sovereignty to the Prince of Great Britain*
 “ *and the Infanta of Spain*; so as a marriage might be had
 “ betwixt them, with the succession of the children begotten
 “ of their bodies.” The proposals from Spain were considered in England as “ a specious pretence to engage his Majesty in
 “ a war for the reduction of the Provinces;” and no regard seems to have been paid to those of James. The progress and unsuccessful issue of these schemes may be seen in Winwood’s Memorials, vol. 2. p. 100, 148, 160, 164, 165, 167, 199, 200, &c. James, when pressed to assist the Confederates with a round sum of money, or to remit part of the debt, answered, “ That he could not give so great cause of jealousy
 “ and scandal to the King of Spain.” Ibid. p. 217 and 218. He afterwards gave his Ambassadors power to mitigate the demand of 60,000 l. to 30,000 l. yearly, for the two first years; but afterwards 60,000 l. to be paid yearly, at each year’s end. Ibid, p. 369.

BOOK III. Estates, though as fortunate as they could have
 1606. expected, yet dreaded the power of their enemies, and the uncertain fate of war. They considered, that, as they had taken up arms, not to extend their empire, but to defend themselves against oppression, their great view was accomplished if they could secure their liberties.

by the Arch
 Duke.

REASONS equally strong produced a like disposition in the Arch Duke. He was somewhat advanced in life. His natural temper inclined him to peace. His credit was exhausted by so long a war; and the Provinces which acknowledged him as their Prince, became every year more averse to contribute to the expence. His authority daily declined among a people who had long experienced many hardships, while they had the mortification to observe that their neighbours, with whom they were at war, enjoyed a plentiful source of wealth, by the increase of their commerce. The Arch Duke, therefore, wished to remove complaints, by endeavouring to restore tranquillity, and to establish his own power, by conferring upon his subjects a blessing they so earnestly desired. Though Spinola gained some advantages in the last campaign, yet they did not answer the high expectations which had been entertained. For want of money, a new mutiny had happened; and there was some danger of Philip refusing to contribute so liberally as he had formerly done. Spinola himself seemed satisfied with the glory that he had already acquired; and, rather than hazard a reverse of fortune, openly avowed the necessity of making peace. The enemy, though forty years engaged in war, had, notwithstanding, become more powerful, more firmly united, and more obstinate in defending their liberties. Foreign Princes encouraged them
 in

in their rebellion: the natural situation of their Book III,
 Provinces was favourable to their making a long re- 1606.
 sistance; and their own industry had discovered to
 them resources with which, at first, they were un-
 acquainted. The Arch Duke, despairing to re-
 duce at present the Confederates by force, or to
 gain more than an empty title, was content to se-
 cure the obedience of such of the Provinces as had
 not yet renounced their allegiance. He had still
 another aim. It was expected, that the Imperial
 Throne would soon be vacant by the death of the
 Emperor Rodolph. Albert hoped to succeed him,
 and wanted to employ his money and interest in
 procuring that dignity.

PHILIP, notwithstanding the zeal with which at and by
 the beginning of his reign he had entered into the Philip.
 views of his father, now began to cool. While his
 subjects in Spain complained of the vast expence
 occasioned by the war*, the Portuguese openly
 remonstrated against it, as threatening their entire
 ruin. Both were alarmed with the progress of the
 Confederates in the East Indies, and dreaded that,
 in a short time, they would be able to intercept
 their fleets, the chief source of their wealth. Philip
 had hitherto expended his money the more freely,
 because, by Albert and Isabella having no children,
 the Provinces would again return to the Crown of
 Spain. But now, there was considerable danger of
 their being entirely lost. A report was industriously
 spread, and gained some credit, that Henry of
 France was attempting to annex the Confederated
 Provinces to his kingdom, under certain conditions
 which they would accept, if reduced to extremities.
 It appeared, therefore, more eligible to yield some-
 what

* Pise says, that the war in the Netherlands had cost Spain more than 300,000 men, and 400 millions of Crowns, p. 734. margin.

Book III.

1606.

what to their demands, than, by driving them to despair, to throw them into the arms of a rival. Such an event would not only increase the power of France, but probably prove the means of seducing even those Provinces which at present preserved their allegiance to their natural Sovereign. As so little advantage had hitherto been gained by the war, it appeared prudent to attempt some accommodation. By this means, leisure would be afforded for putting the army in a better situation; and, perhaps, time would produce some favourable circumstances which might be improved. It might happen, that, during a cessation of hostilities, the King of France, now old, might die, and the Confederates be, by this means, deprived of a powerful ally. France might be again involved in domestic dissensions, and unable to give any assistance. If once the fear of the Spanish arms was removed, intestine divisions might dissolve that union which subsisted among the rebellious Provinces, and give an opportunity for secret practices to be employed with success in withdrawing some of them from their opposition, and for more easily subduing the others.

1607.
Proceedings
in the pro-
posed treaty.
Jan. 13.

In consequence of these sentiments of the different parties, Gevart went to Brussels; returned with a commission from the Arch Duke; and, with Wittenhorst, desired an audience, which was granted. They talked much of the moderation and gentleness of the Arch Duke; declared that he was sincerely disposed to treat either of a peace or a truce; advised the Confederates to consider the uncertainty of war, and, by returning to their obedience, restore tranquillity to the country. The States answered, That it was evident to every person acquainted with the affairs of the Netherlands, that the Arch Duke could pretend no title
to

to the United Provinces, or acquire any right but by victory; that as they had formed an union in defence of their liberties, which was approved by neighbouring Princes, they could, with justice, attempt to recover every thing they had lost; and therefore would never treat with any person who claimed a right contrary to the Union of Utrecht, made in the year 1579, by which they are declared Free States. The Arch Duke's deputies went back to Brussels, to report this answer. It could not be agreeable either to Philip or Albert. Such a declaration as seemed to be required would appear an acknowledgment that they had unjustly made war against the Confederates; to show so great a disposition for peace as to comply with this demand, would be to confess that they were unable to continue the war any longer; and to grant liberty as the reward of rebellion, might be attended with the most dangerous consequences, by exciting the other Provinces, in like manner, to shake off the yoke. Notwithstanding, Wittenhorst, in a few days after the Commissioners went to Brussels, wrote a letter to the General Estates, in which he told them, that it never was the intention of the Arch Duke to claim any right to the United Provinces; that he had no design to alter their government, but that their laws and privileges should be preserved; and that he was heartily disposed, if they chused, to put an end to the calamities of war.

BOOK III.

1607.

AFFAIRS were in this situation when John Ney, Commissary General of the Franciscan Friars, arrived. He was the son of Martin Ney, a person well known to William Prince of Orange. He was born in Zealand, and educated in the Reformed Religion; but turning Catholic, went to Spain, and coming afterwards to the Netherlands, resided

Arrival of
Ney from
Brussels.
March.

BOOK III. resided mostly at Brussels. He was a man of learn-
 1607. ing, acquainted with the manners of a Court, elo-
 quent, and very artful. These talents recom-
 mended him to Albert as one well qualified for
 acting in the character of his Commissioner. The
 Arch Duke was now resolved to try every method
 to procure a cessation of arms, and even, if neces-
 sary, to yield to the demand of the Confederates,
 by treating with them as free States. Ney, at
 first, kept himself very private at Ryfwick, with a
 view to learn what were the chief difficulties which
 might occur. The reason of his coming, however,
 being known, he was introduced to Maurice, and
 made proposals similar to those contained in Wit-
 tenhorst's letter. Perceiving that it was in vain to
 expect any negociation could succeed, unless the
 Arch Duke, previous to the treaty, would declare
 the United Provinces to be Free States, he went
 March 17. back to Brussels, and returning again, produced a
 writing, signed by Albert and Isabella, importing,
 that they were ready to make a perpetual peace
 with the United Provinces, as with a *free* people,
 over whom they claimed no power; or, if more
 agreeable, a truce for twelve, fifteen, or twenty
 years; and, on this condition, among others, that
 both parties might keep what they possessed at
 present, unless, afterwards, an exchange should be
 made by mutual consent. They proposed, that
 such only as were natives of the Netherlands should
 be sent as Commissioners to the conference; that
 the Confederates might appoint an equal number,
 and fix the time and place of meeting; and, in
 order that the treaty might proceed with the greater
 dispatch, that there should be a cessation of all
 hostilities for eight months. They promised to
 procure the consent of the King of Spain, within
 three months; and desired that the Confederates
 would, within eight days, ratify the cessation, and
 intimate,

intimate, before the beginning of September, their resolution concerning the time and place for holding the conference *. Book III.
1607.

SIR THOMAS EDMONDS, then at the Court of Brussels, in character of Resident from James King of Britain, attributed these concessions to the necessity of Philip's affairs, and his fears of Henry of France. He wrote to London, that Richardot, who knew nothing of them until an answer was given by the Confederates, was greatly astonished when he first heard of them, and said to him, that King James, by not only refusing to take any part in accommodating matters with the General Estates of the United Provinces, but by seeming to favour the views of Henry, had been the occasion of such *desperate* resolutions, as he called them †. These proposals were, indeed, much more agreeable to the General Estates than any they had formerly received; and contained terms more condescending than what they had reason to think would have been so soon, and so easily granted. They very readily, therefore, consented; only they explained the cessation of hostilities to mean no more than that, during the eight months, no towns should be besieged A truce for eight months.
April 13.

* Baudius de Induciis, p. 8—16. Meursii res Belgicæ, lib. 5. in quo Induciarum Historia Lug. Bat. 4to. 1614. p. 264—267. Grotius. Van den Sande, Belgicarum Historiarum epitome, p. 66. Haræus. Bentivoglio.

† These resolutions caused equal surprise in England. “Had the King of Spain, or the Arch Dukes, but showed the least inclination to yield to such a renunciation of their interest unto these Provinces, his Majesty would have long since taken upon him to have made their peace. There happened never greater, and more sudden alteration, beyond all wise mens expectation, than this is, whereof so small motives appear to the world's eye.” Earl of Salisbury's Letter to Lord C. Cornwallis, in Winwood's Memorials, vol. 2. p. 302 & 306.

Book III. ^{1607.} besieged nor taken; no territories invaded; nor new fortifications erected; and required, that Philip should ratify the proposals of the Arch Duke within three months, with an express declaration of their being Free States. The truce for eight months was settled to begin the fourth day of May. The General Estates intimated it to the States of each of the Confederated Provinces, and told them, that, by this means, they would have time to consult the Kings of Britain and France, and to deliberate among themselves what was further to be done. They likewise recommended the appointing a day of public thanksgiving to God, who had given success to their arms, and inclined their enemies to acknowledge their freedom. The suspension of arms, when published through all the United Provinces, gave, in general, great joy *.

The Citadel
of Groning-
hen demo-
lished.

DURING these negotiations, in which the Confederates were asserting their liberty and independence, the General Estates showed themselves equally well disposed to remove every appearance of oppression in their own provinces. Some years ago, a castle had been built in Groningen, to check the disturbances frequent in that city. As these tumults had now ceased; a magistracy, on whom they could depend, had been chosen; and a good garrison was now kept, it was no longer necessary. They therefore ordered the castle to be demolished, because an engine of power odious in a free government.

Erckelen
taken by
Henry of
Nassau.

ERCKELEN, a small town in Gueldres, had hitherto paid contributions to both parties, but lately declared against the Confederates, by admitting Henry de Berg, who had pitched upon it as a proper place from which he could make excursions, and

* Carnero, lib. 16. c. 15, &c. Haræus. Baudius. Meursius.

and plunder the adjacent country. Henry of Nassau, having gone out with a strong body of horse against some of Spinola's troops that were quartered in Limburg, and obliged them to fly, in his return assaulted, and took Erckelen. Fifty of the enemy were killed, and Henry de Berg taken prisoner. Book III.
1607.

THE loss of the trade to Spain, and the success of the expeditions undertaken to the East Indies, induced some merchants to propose a scheme for a West India Company. A scheme
proposed
for a West
India Com-
pany. The Portuguese, who first discovered America, had got possession of the commerce of that vast continent, and also of the western coasts of Africa. After Philip II. seized upon the Crown of Portugal, and discharged the trade of the Confederates to Spain, some of them sailed to Africa, America, and the islands adjoining to both continents. The Coast of Guinea was the first place where they were allowed to settle. They soon gained the confidence of the natives; and to such an extent was their trade carried, that, at this time, more than a hundred and twenty vessels were employed in this branch of commerce. A plan was formed for carrying it on by an exclusive Company. It was proposed that none but the partners should be permitted to go to these parts which extended from Terra Nova, by a vast tract of land, along the Straits of Magellan, to the ocean on both sides, and to the places which lie opposite to the coast of Africa, between the Equinoctial and the Cape of Good Hope; that five months should be allowed for receiving subscriptions; that, to these, the General Estates should add two hundred thousand florins yearly, for the first six years, and afterwards, as much as the

U public

† Grotii Historia, lib. 16. p. 506.

BOOK III. 1607. public funds could allow ; that, for the protection of the trade, sixteen ships of war and four small vessels should be equipped by private persons, and the same number by the public, but the Company to furnish the men. Rules were likewise laid down for the management of the Company's affairs, and for dividing the profits. It was thought, that by pushing the war by sea, the Confederates would most effectually distress their enemies ; that, as their garrisons in these countries were at a great distance from one another, it would be easy to gain advantages over them ; and that, if the enterprise was attended with any degree of success, other nations would join in making conquests.

It is laid
aside.

THIS project met with opposition. The unfortunate expedition of Doës was not yet forgot ; the power of Spain was dreaded ; and it was alleged, that the United Provinces were not yet possessed of sufficient strength, or provided with resources necessary for undertaking such an attempt. These reasons, joined with the contests among the different towns concerning the manner and proportion in which the vessels were to be equipped, and the permitting, as some insisted, salt to be brought from America, without being subject to a monopoly, put a stop to the design at present *.

Another
expedition
at sea under
Heemskerk.
March 25.

A LITTLE before the cessation of arms was settled, the General Estates resolved to try again their fortune at sea, both to recover the honour they had lost in the late enterprise of this kind, and to gratify the pressing request of the East India Company,

* A West India Company, however, was erected, anno 1621. See Janicon, tom. 1. c. 13.

Company, who were afraid that the whole naval force of Spain would be directed against their fleets. Twenty-six men of war, and four smaller vessels loaded with provisions were equipped. The command of this squadron was bestowed upon James Heemskerck, who accompanied Barentz in his voyage to the North, and, since that time, had been twice at the Indies. He was preferred because a man of experience in sea affairs, and of great courage. Such was the trust reposed in him, that the entire conduct of the expedition was left to his prudence. So confident was he himself of success, that he refused to accept of any higher recompence than the eighth part of the booty which should be got over and above the value of five hundred thousand florins. He sailed the twenty-fifth of March from the Texel, and made directly for the Tagus, with a design to attack the Portuguese fleet destined for the East Indies. But, understanding that part of the vessels had already left the harbour, and that the rest were not yet ready, he steered his course towards Gibraltar, where, as he was informed, there were some Spanish ships. When he came there, he saw nine galleons, four other men of war, a large Lubec vessel, four French ships that had been hired, and three Flemish that had been taken, all lying at anchor. Though the enemy's fleet was well manned, both with sailors and soldiers, Heemskerck, after an animated address to his crew, advanced briskly. Lambert, in another ship, was ordered to join him in assaulting the largest of the galleons, which carried the Admiral, Don John Alvarez d'Avila, five hundred marines, besides sailors, and twenty-one brass guns. As he resolved not to fire until he should be near the enemy, the Spaniards gave the first broadside, which did little execution. Heemskerck cast anchor close by the galleon, and gave a warm salute.

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1607.

An engagement.
April 25.

BOOK III.

1607.

But by the second shot from the Spaniards, he received a desperate wound. A cannon bullet tore all his left thigh in a miserable manner. Sensible that his wound would prove mortal, he first recommended his soul to God, and then exhorted his officers to do their duty, and revenge the loss of their Admiral. He next appointed his successor in command, and with great composure submitted to his fate. His death was carefully concealed, that the sailors and troops might not be discouraged by such a disaster. The Spanish Admiral was soon after deprived of his great guns, and forced to have recourse to his small arms, when Lambert, according to orders, came up, lay by his side, and made a terrible slaughter. In the mean time, as Alterhassen, the Vice-Admiral of the Confederates, could not get near enough to attack, as he proposed, the Spanish Vice-Admiral, four other of the Flemish fleet executed this design, assailed him at once, and set his ship on fire. Another galleon perished in the same manner; and a third, receiving a shot between wind and water, sunk to the bottom. The rest of the ships on both sides fought at a distance only. One, however, belonging to the Spaniards was blown up by her powder, whether kindled by the fire of the Confederates, or by her own, is uncertain. The fire communicating to some of the fleet that were nearest, involved them in the same calamity, and so terrified the rest, that they slipped their anchors, and ran ashore. The Spanish Admiral alone still maintained the combat, till a third ship attacked him, upon which he put up the white flag, the signal for begging quarter. But such was the fury of the Confederates that they instantly beat down the flag; boarded the Spaniard; and made great havock among his men. Alvarez d'Avila himself was killed. Some of his men leaped into the sea, hoping

hoping to save their lives by swimming; but few of them escaped. When night came on the Flemings left the prize; and a few of the crew, who had artfully concealed themselves aboard, cut her cables, and carried her ashore. The French vessels being deserted by the Spaniards, submitted to the conquerors. The next day, the Confederates dispatched some of their boats to bring off the Spanish Admiral's ship. But the people of the town observed their design, and set her on fire.

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1607.

In this manner the Confederates gained a very signal victory, by sinking or burning the Spanish Admiral's ship, and twelve other vessels; taking above two hundred prisoners; and killing more than two thousand of their enemies. They were informed by the prisoners, that there had been more than four thousand men aboard this fleet. Such was the event of a combat from which the conquerors derived great honour, and which taught them that the Spaniards were not invincible, even in their own ports. The Confederates had only about one hundred men killed, and sixty wounded. They staid for two days on the coast, more by way of triumph, than with a view to prosecute farther the advantage they had acquired. During that time, the people on the shore seemed to be in great terror. Bodies of armed men were constantly in motion, and others were collecting together their valuable effects, and preparing for flight. Had Heemskerk survived, he would not have neglected any opportunity so favourable for acquiring glory to himself, and distressing the enemies of his country. But the fleet separated. Two of the ships which had carried provisions were sent to Holland with the wounded men, and the body of their brave Admiral. Some of the others sailed along

BOOK III. along the coast of Portugal; some to the Azores,
 1607. and Fortunate Islands, and afterwards returned home, without performing any farther services of importance. All due honour was paid to the memory of Heemskerck's virtues, by splendid funeral rites, and a pompous monument erected at the public expence. He died in the thirty-ninth year of his age *.

Ney desires
 that the fleet
 should be
 recalled.

DURING the time that the Confederates fleet was at sea, Ney came back to the Hague. The General Estates had sent Verdoës to make the exchange of the ratifications at Antwerp, where Ney produced the same writing which was drawn up at the Hague, now subscribed by Albert and Isabella. Verdoës demanding one more ample and formal, Ney went to Brussels, and brought the ratification in the terms he desired, with a present of a gold chain for himself; but told him, that there were several things in this agreement which required a more particular explanation, and therefore begged permission to return to the Hague. Verdoës wrote to the General Estates, informing them of this request; and having waited for some days without receiving any answer, consented. Ney's design was suspected by many. They asked by what authority he had been permitted to come, and blamed Verdoës for granting him this liberty, which they thought would not readily have been allowed by the General Estates. But Ney managed matters with such dexterity, that the offence given by this step was soon removed. It appeared, that intelligence of the success of Heemskerck at Gibraltar was transmitted from Spain to the Court of Brussels, even before the

* Grotii Historia, lib. 16. p. 512. Thyfii Historia Navalis, c. 40.

the General Estates knew what had happened. For Ney, in his first audience, represented, that as the Arch Dukes had shown the greatest sincerity, and, as a proof of it, had omitted nothing which could give satisfaction to the General Estates, they should, on their part, discover the same disposition, by recalling their fleet.

Book III.

1607.

April 27.

THIS demand created new debates; and some reports being received of the success of the fleet, induced many to insist, that the Confederates should prosecute their good fortune; and that though peace was proposed, they should improve every advantage they gained, as the most effectual means of obtaining reasonable terms. Others were of opinion, that they should testify their inclination to peace, not by words only, but likewise by their actions; and said, that if, notwithstanding, a peace was not concluded, the war would be carried on with still greater vigour than ever, because, in this event, all would heartily join in resenting the disappointment of their expectations. The eagerness with which these different sentiments were supported was the occasion of delaying the answer to Ney's request, and almost frustrated the end which both parties had in view. The one thought it was most prudent to render the enemy secure, by promoting an entire cessation of arms; and the other, to frighten him into terms. After much contention, it was agreed, that the fleet should be recalled as soon as Philip's ratification should arrive; and that, in the mean time, no more ships, nor provisions, should be sent to sea*.

DURING

* Baudius de Induciis, p. 17. & 18. Meursius, p. 267. Grotius, 511. & 512.

BOOK III.

1607.
Views of
Henry of
France.

DURING these deliberations, Ambassadors arrived from France. Henry now possessed the Crown in peace, and wished for an opportunity to humble Philip. He would have been pleased to have seen him deprived of the Netherlands altogether. But he himself was old; his children were young; and, in these circumstances, fresh troubles might arise in his own dominions, and which Philip would not fail to encourage. The only part, therefore, he could act was that of a mediator; and, by procuring a peace in the Netherlands, to remove the Spanish forces to a greater distance. Besides, he was somewhat jealous of the growing power of the Confederates. They were already formidable at sea, and might in time, become dangerous neighbours. Imagining that his influence with the General Estates was considerable, and that they would do nothing without his advice, he offered them his services, and hoped that he would prevail even with the Spaniards themselves to place the negotiation chiefly in his hands. Dexterity and address were necessary to the right management of this business. Elie de la Place Ruffy had succeeded Buzanville, as Henry's resident with the General Estates of the United Provinces. Buzanville was again sent back to act in conjunction with Ruffy, together with Pierre Jeannin, President of the Parliament of Burgundy, a man of much experience and ability, in whom Henry placed great confidence†. He had formerly joined the league; but afterwards

† The following anecdote shows in what esteem Henry held Jeannin. His Majesty being one day at Fountainbleau, and expecting the arrival of Jeannin, ordered the servants to inform him as soon as he entered the palace. They did so. Henry immediately rose from his seat, and taking the Queen with him, went to meet Jeannin at the entrance into the Salloon. He

wards convinced particularly by the conduct of Philip, who talked of the Provinces of France as his own, that religion was only a mask used by that faction, he insisted with the Duke of Mayenne that all quarrels should end with the death of Henry III. and that he should use his utmost endeavours to establish the King of Navarre upon the throne. Henry was so sensible of Jeannin's integrity, that he treated him with great respect, and entertained such a high opinion of his talents, that he consulted him in all matters of importance. For the same reason he made choice of him for conducting the negotiation in the Netherlands, which required much skill and prudence. In the instructions given to these Ambassadors, Henry ordered them to complain of the General Estates having agreed to a cessation of arms without his knowledge; to declare that he had no other views than to support, to the utmost of his power, their liberties, and to contribute to their prosperity; and that he would cheerfully join with them in any measures which they should judge most proper for this purpose.

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WHEN the Ambassadors, four days after their arrival, were admitted to a public audience, they spoke much of the favours done by Henry to the General Estates, and represented the late agreement,

His Ambassadors have an audience.
May 25.

He embraced him with great tenderness; and, turning to the Queen, said, "Madam, you see here one of the best men in all my dominions, the most attached to my interest, and the most capable of serving the State. When it pleases God to call me out of the world, repose yourself entirely on his fidelity, and the affection which I know he has for my people." This recommendation was never forgot by the Queen. After the death of her husband, she implicitly followed the advice given her by Jeannin, to whom she entrusted the absolute management of her affairs during her regency. *Eloge de President Jeannin, en les Negotiations.*

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ment, made without giving him any intimation, as a proof that they suspected his intentions. They said, his Majesty could not imagine from what causes their jealousy had arisen, unless from some reports which had been circulated of his aspiring to the Sovereignty of the United Provinces. They asserted, that these reports were false, and that his Majesty was much affected with any appearance of their giving credit to what was so contrary to his honour. To give the United Provinces the most express assurances of his friendly disposition, they affirmed, was one of the principal designs of their embassy, and, accordingly, they were charged to inform the States, that, though Henry had reason to be offended with their conduct, he would still continue his friendship; and either, if they thought proper to carry on the war, give them his assistance, or, if they inclined to peace, endeavour, by his authority, to procure for them advantageous terms. They concluded with desiring, that the General Estates would appoint some of their members to confer with them, and to acquaint them with the state of their affairs, that they might have an opportunity of more clearly discovering his Majesty's good intentions. Barneveldt made answer, for the General Estates. After many expressions of respect and gratitude to Henry, he excused their conduct from the necessity of their situation. At the request of the Ambassadors, a deputy from each of the Provinces was named, with whom they might consult *.

JEANNIN

* Negotiations de Monsieur le President Jeannin, Lettres au Roy et Mr. Villeroy, 29 May; et Proposition en l'Assemblée Generale de Estats. Haræus. Grotius. Meursius. Ens. Baudius.

JEANNIN soon perceived that the greater part of the Confederates was inclined to the peace, though Maurice seemed to be of a contrary disposition. All the Provinces, except Zealand, declared themselves for it, and were supported chiefly by Barneveldt, who had great influence in the General Estates, and particularly in the Province of Holland, which contributed as much to the expence of the war as all the other Provinces together. In a conference, the Deputies told Jeannin, that the expences of the war would cost at the rate of fifteen hundred thousand livres a month, or eighteen millions of livres a-year; whereas, they could only raise ten millions; so that they could not carry it on any longer, without being assisted with eight millions. Though Maurice, on the other hand, maintained, that a much less sum was sufficient, they still insisted, that the eight millions would be absolutely necessary. It is probable that they hoped, by this means, to engage Henry to use his mediation with the greater cheerfulness and vigour *.

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So suspicious were the General Estates of Ney's intentions, that they would not allow him to reside at the Hague, but assigned him a lodging at Delft, where all his motions were carefully watched. The propriety of this caution appeared from one part of his conduct a little before he went away. He invited Cornelius Aërsens, Secretary to the General Estates, to a private conference. Aërsens, who conjectured his design, informed Maurice of the invitation he had received, and asked his advice how to

Ney endeavours to corrupt Aërsens.

* Negotiations de Jeannin, Lettre au Roy, 2 Juin. Maurice afterwards, contrary to the inclinations of the Deputies, reduced the additional sum, which would be necessary for carrying on the war, to four millions 500,000 livres, or, at least, four millions. Lettre au Roy, 27 Juin.

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to act. Maurice desired him to go, and to accept of any presents which might be offered him; that, by encouraging Ney to speak his sentiments freely, the Arch Duke's real intentions might be discovered. When they met, Ney congratulated Aërsens upon the appearance there now was of a peace, and thanked him for his assistance; referring to his being introduced first to the Secretary by means of one Craulius who was his relation. He next proceeded to insinuate the dangers to which Aërsens would have been exposed in a republic, where jealousy and faction generally prevailed, if this affair had not succeeded according to their wishes. As Aërsens did not seem to disapprove this language, Ney became more unreserved, and told him, that the Arch Duke highly applauded the disposition he showed for peace; would afterwards amply reward him for his services; and, at present, would restore a house which formerly belonged to him in Brussels. Besides this, he assured the Secretary, that Spinola entertained a great regard for him; that if either a peace, or only a truce for nine years, was made, would give him a present of fifty thousand crowns; and that in earnest of it he might receive, whenever he pleased, fifteen thousand of these crowns, for which sum Ney presented a bill signed by Spinola himself. At the same time, he produced a jewel worth six thousand crowns, which, he said, was intended as a compliment from himself to Aërsen's wife. Aërsens returned him thanks for the house, which he accepted, because he considered it as his right; but hesitated to receive the presents, pretending that it would be a stain upon his honour. Ney pressed him not to refuse. At last, with seeming reluctance, he took both the jewel, and the bill for the fifteen thousand crowns. Returning to the Hague, he acquainted Maurice and some of the chief men of this transaction.

tion. Maurice begged that it might be kept a secret for some time, but declined taking the custody of the presents. Aërsens was soon after solicited by Ney to receive payment of the money; but being afraid of the consequences of this business being concealed any longer, informed the Council of State of the whole affair. The Council ordered the bill and jewel to be lodged with the Treasurer of the public money. Aërsens, notwithstanding all his care, did not escape the censure of the common people, who interpreted his conduct so much to his disadvantage, that he thought it necessary to vindicate himself by a publication in his defence*.

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* Grotii Historia, lib. 16. p. 519. Negotiations de Jean-
nin, Lettre au Roy, 6 Juillet. Ens.

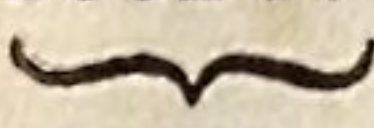
HISTORY
OF THE
UNITED PROVINCES
OF THE
NETHERLANDS.

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IT was, no doubt, highly agreeable to the General Estates of the United Provinces, to observe, that while they were endeavouring to assert the freedom, and maintain the independence of their country, the inhabitants were daily growing more rich and powerful. They must have surveyed with much satisfaction the increasing opulence of the people; and though there seemed to be a general inclination to put an end to the calamities of war, must have been encouraged in their attempts to free the Provinces from oppression and tyranny, when they saw their resources augmented, and found themselves in a situation which entitled them to demand such terms from their enemies as might secure an honourable and lasting peace. During the negotiations, the remaining part of the large fleet commanded by Waarwyk and Weert, the

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Return of a
fleet from
the Indies.

BOOK IV.  1607. the first sent to the East Indies by the new erected Company of Merchants in July 1602, returned after a successful voyage. Having doubled the Cape of Good Hope, in December, the three vessels destined for Achin separated from the rest, and took that route. When they arrived there, in March 1603, they found Weert, who had been in the road of Sumatra some time before, and Spilberg with two of his ships. Weert had anchored on the coast of Ceylon, the twenty-eighth of November, and gone by land to pay a visit to the King of Candy. When he was asked from whence he came, and answered, from Holland, the country governed by the General Estates, and by Prince Maurice, whose picture he had seen in the hall, his Majesty, and his whole Court were surprised that he should have known the picture, and were convinced of the truth of what they had been told by Spilberg, who had given it to his Majesty in a present. Weert embraced this opportunity of informing them of the long war which the General Estates had carried on against the Spaniards. He was entertained with every mark of friendship, and often visited by the King, who pressed him much to assist him against the Portuguese; and promised, that if he would prevent them from being furnished with provisions by sea from Goa, and that if the fortress they had at Colombo, and which he was ready to besiege with twenty thousand men, should be taken, he would put all the forts of the island into the possession of the General Estates, who might supply them with garrisons. Weert frequently declined agreeing to this proposal, telling the King, that he was come in the character of a merchant, and that the length of the voyage, the condition of his ships, and the great expence, would not allow his engaging in such an enterprise. The repeated solicitations of the King, the

the frank manner in which he acted, and the great affection he professed for the Confederates, induced Weert at last to declare, that he would support him with all his force, and for that purpose, would immediately repair to Achin, from which place he would bring along with him some more ships. The King appeared to be very much satisfied; made him a present of twenty quintals of cinnamon, and sixteen quintals of pepper; and assured him, that if the Flemings chused to trade with his subjects, all the silk, pepper, cinnamon, and other productions of the island, should be kept for them, and that he would write to the other Princes on the continent, his allies, to show them all favour. The King of Achin received the Flemings very courteously; and as the crop of pepper was not ready, agreed, that houses should be built for their lodging, and for keeping their goods. Weert again returned to Ceylon with six ships, and the pinnace which he had bought from Spilberg. The inhabitants expressed great joy upon his arrival; and the King of Matecalo told him, that it was prophesied ten or twelve years before, that a new people should come into the island, and drive away the Portuguese; a prediction, which he said, was now certainly to be accomplished.

WHILE Weert waited for an answer from the King of Candy, to whom he had sent a letter, acquainting him of his return, he made several excursions into the country, and wherever he went, was kindly entertained. In a short time three men came from Candy, and brought a letter from Erasmus Martberg, whom Spilberg had left in the island, with intelligence, that the King was pursuing some victories he had gained over the Portuguese; that he continued in the same sentiments of esteem for the Flemings; that he was desirous

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they would, as soon as possible, bring their ships to the fort of Pointe de Galles, while he besieged it by land; and that he promised, in case it was taken, to furnish them, every year, with one thousand quintals of cinnamon, and as much of pepper. Accordingly, Weert set sail. On his route to Pointe de Galles, he discovered a vessel about two leagues to the south, which he chased, and took without much resistance. It proved to be a Portuguese ship of four hundred tons burden, having on board twenty Portuguese, forty blacks, and some women. They had left Cochin six days before, and were bound first for Negapatan, and afterwards for Bengal. Weert learned from the prisoners, that there were at Cochin three other vessels ready for the same voyage. All these likewise fell into his hands; being one of four hundred tons; another of one hundred and forty; and the third, of one hundred and sixty tons. This last had been a kind of pirate; and there were found on board one thousand five hundred and ninety reals of eight, which she was carrying to Negapatan. There was little else of any value in these prizes, except three lasts of pepper. As quarter had been granted to the Portuguese, and a promise given them that their lives should be spared, two of the vessels were dismissed, and the crew furnished with a passport to Negapatan. They were very thankful for a favour which they had not expected. Some of the slaves desired to continue in the service of the Flemings, and were accordingly kept.

Weert mas-
sacred.

THIS proof which Weert gave of his being an avowed enemy to the Portuguese, was so highly agreeable to the King of Candy, that he sent notice he would come to Matecalo, to confer with him about the farther operations of the war. Weert went out to meet him, and was followed by two hundred

hundred of his men under arms. The King appeared with several elephants, and more than three hundred men. After some little conversation had passed, the King desired Weert to send the sailors aboard, with orders to return in the same manner next day; but that he himself, and his principal officers, might lodge that night at Matecalo. Weert agreed to the proposal, and dismissed his men. But no sooner were they on their way to the ships, than he was attacked by the King's troops, and he himself, and about forty-nine others, were massacred. The men who were walking towards the shore, without any order, and dispersed, were, in like manner, assaulted, and for the most part assassinated. All this cruelty was exercised without any reason being assigned, or any cause of quarrel. It was said by some, that Weert had frequently pressed the King to go aboard his ships; that, from his earnestness, the King began to entertain some suspicions; and that Weert, upon his refusal, said, that as his Majesty had not so much confidence in him as to comply with his request, he would not assist him against the Portuguese. This answer is supposed to have irritated the King; but it is more probable, that he was incensed with the Portuguese having been set at liberty.

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THE crew left on board having heard part of what had happened, could not imagine that the King would give any orders for such a horrid act of treachery; and concluded, that some misunderstanding had arisen between the natives and their countrymen. To be better informed, they next day sent ashore one of their boats, armed. A little after, the Ambassador of the King of Achin at the Court of Candy, appeared. He was attended by a few of his people, and carried with him a flag of peace, and a letter, which when opened, was found

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to be written in the name of the King of Candy, and in the Portuguese language. It contained an account of the massacre of the Vice-Admiral, and his men ; but imputed the disaster to an intention of Weert to force the King aboard his vessels, with a design to assassinate him ; and gave this as a reason for the King taking a step which was necessary for his own safety. The King, at the same time, declared, that they had it in their choice either to continue in peace, or to be at war ; but that it was of little consequence to him what part they should act. The letter concluded, with informing them, that it was written in Portuguese, because there was not a person remaining who understood the French language. The crew, equally surprised and grieved with this intelligence, endeavoured, by sending their boats near the shore, to discover if any of their countrymen had escaped. They picked up two, both of them much wounded, and a Portuguese woman, from whom information was received of all the particulars of the massacre. The King, they said, justified it, by alleging, that there was an intention to carry him aboard, and kill him, of which Weert had given abundant cause for suspicion, by releasing the Portuguese prisoners, and returning their two vessels, though he was desired to detain them for his Majesty.

A COUNCIL was held aboard the fleet, fourth of June ; and James Pieterz, of Enckhuysen, was substituted in the place of Weert, as Vice Admiral. That evening another of the men, much wounded, was taken up by the boat ; and next day she again brought aboard the Ambassador of the King of Achin, and three of his people. Affairs being in this situation, and though the King of Matecalo protested, that he had no concern in the massacre, but, on the contrary, pretended great friendship,
 the

the Council resolved, that one of the vessels should be dispatched to Bantam, to inform the Flemings who were there, of the misfortune which had happened at Ceylon, and to procure a cargo; that two more should sail for Achin, to receive the cargo which was promised them, attended by another of the ships, that they might be in a condition to defend themselves against the Portuguese fleet, under the command of Andrea Furtado, who, it was believed, would come from Malacca, to Achin, at the time when the crop would be ready; and that the Vice-Admiral, with three others, should go to Bengal and Negapatan, to learn the state of these countries. But, on the sixteenth of June, a Fleming, who had been at Candy, came on board, accompanied by an envoy from the King, who brought a letter in which his Majesty endeavoured to excuse his late conduct; begged that they would still continue his friends; swore by God, by himself, by his soul, and by his children, that if they would send one to treat with him, no harm should be done him, but that he should see all the cinnamon and pepper in Candy; and that if they would give their assistance in taking the forts at Colombo and Pointe de Galles from the Portuguese, former promises should be faithfully fulfilled. The Council, after deliberating upon this letter, changed their resolution so far, that they determined not to abandon Ceylon altogether; and though they had little hopes of trading to any advantage at this time, yet they thought that nothing should be neglected which might preserve their access to the island. For this reason, they sent to Candy, James Cornelisz, Sub-Lieutenant of *the Garden of Holland*, one of their ships, with particular instructions, to desire the King to bring all the cinnamon and pepper he had to the sea-shore, and name some of his own people to fix the price, which should be paid in money or goods;

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goods ; to inform him, that they accepted his offers of friendship ; that with respect to the assistance he asked, it was not in their power to give it, as part of the fleet was dispatched to other places in the Indies ; but that they would be ready to support him next harvest, when they would be reinforced with more ships, and could more effectually execute the enterprize he had proposed. Cornelisz was accompanied by the other Fleming who had come from Candy, and the Ambassador from Achin, who went to take his leave of the King. Next day, the *Star* and the *Flushing* set sail for Achin, and the *Goose* for Bantam ; but the rest, to wit, the *Ziricksee*, the *Holland*, the *Garden of Holland*, and the yacht, remained, to wait accounts from Candy, and in hopes of getting their cargoes.

ON the twentieth of July, they received letters from Cornelisz, in which he informed them, that when he arrived at Candy, the King was with his army at Sytabeigne, fifteen leagues from that place, and six from Colombo ; that he sent for him to the camp, and, after excusing what had happened, swore that, for the future, he would confide entirely in the Flemings ; that he promised to load two Champans, a kind of small vessels, with cinnamon and pepper, to be sent to them ; declared, that he had already dispatched, by land, two elephants, which carried two barres of cinnamon, and as much of pepper ; and begged, they would appoint some person to wait on him, and fix the price. The Vice-Admiral, and his Council, persuaded that these promises were not to be depended upon, proposed leaving the place as soon as their Deputies from Candy should return. Cornelisz came back on the twenty-fourth, with another letter from the King, and informed them, that

that the Ambassadors of Candy and Achin, with their retinue, had stopped at Matecalo, with the elephants which the King of Candy had mentioned. They came on board next day; assured the Vice-Admiral of the uprightness of the King's intentions; and advised him to send some of his principal officers to fix the price of the cinnamon and pepper, which were now ready. The Vice-Admiral declined undertaking the journey; but the Ambassadors delivered him two barres, one of cinnamon, and another of pepper; and said, that with respect to the other two barres, they had orders to leave them at Matecalo, until the price should be fixed. But the Vice-Admiral told them he was to leave that country directly, and go in quest of another, where he would be treated with more sincerity and friendship.

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ON the last day of July, he set sail, and the ninth of August, anchored in the road of Sumatra. Here he met with the *Star* and the *Flushing*. The *Parrot*, a yacht belonging to the Admiral's squadron, from which the three vessels, destined for Achin, parted in December 1602, near the Cape of Good Hope, had been there the thirtieth of the former month, but was gone to Pedir to purchase rice. She brought letters from the Admiral, of date fourteenth June, bearing, that he had arrived in the road of Bantam, on the twenty-ninth of April, and had found such a quantity of pepper, that he hoped soon to complete the cargoes of the *Maurice*, *Virgin of Enckhuysen*, and the *Concord*, three of his ships, and to send them to Holland; that he would dispatch the *Erasmus* and *Nassau* to China, and the *Rotterdam* to Joartam, in Java; and that the other ships of his fleet, the *Sun* and the *Moon*, would, at next monsoon, make for the Molucca islands. The Vice-Admiral and one of his officers

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officers had an audience of the King, who received them very graciously, and promised to furnish as much pepper as would load two vessels; but they could not agree about the price. They parted with great professions of regard for each other; and the fleet left the road the twenty-fourth August, with an intention to sail to the Straits of Malacca, and Sincapura. In this route, they took a Portuguese vessel of one hundred and twenty tons, laden with rice, from Negapatan; and, near the Straits, fell in with a jonck from Macassar, destined for Malacca, laden with one hundred and fifty barres of nutmeg, a small quantity of mace and cloves, with a great number of slaves, of both sexes; and another jonck which belonged to the King of Macassar, laden with nutmegs. The Flemings proposed to buy the cargo; but, as the crew demanded too high a price, they allowed them to pursue their voyage; did them no injury; and desired that they would make a favourable report to their Prince of the treatment they had received, and show their gratitude when any Flemish vessels came into their ports. The Flemings, after beating about for some time, without finding the Straits of Sincapura, were joined, in the beginning of October, by some pirogues, the crews of which informed them, that there was then a war between the Portuguese and the inhabitants of Johor; that two Portuguese ships of war, four gallies, and twenty or twenty-five bantins, or pirogues, from Malacca, were before Johor; and that the Portuguese had killed some men belonging to Heemskerck, who had taken a Portuguese carrack coming from China. They likewise said, that the Flemings were not, at present, in the proper course to the Strait, and offered to conduct them to Johor.

THIS

THIS propofal was readily accepted, and, fteer-
 ing north-eaft and north-eaft-by-eaft, they caft
 anchor, on the fourth of October, in the road of
 Johor, or Patana, about three quarters of a league
 from land. A pirogue came to the Vice-Admiral,
 from the King of Johor, with a letter from one
 Buyfen, who had been left here by Heemskerck.
 It was dated from Batawfaber, the town where the
 King held his court, and fituated about fix leagues
 up the river. It contained an account of two
 Portuguefe fhips of war, four fufes, or gallies, and
 twenty bantins, cruizing in that neighbourhood,
 and waiting for the veffels which, in two or three
 months, would come from Macaffar or Japan, in
 order to convoy them to Malacca. The Vice-
 Admiral returned an answer, that he would imme-
 diately attack the Portuguefe fleet. He, accord-
 ingly, fet fail in queft of it, and went up the river,
 accompanied by a number of pirogues, which
 took the advantage of his protection. In a day or
 two after, he got another letter from Buyfen, in-
 forming him, that his answer had, by order of the
 King, been tranflated into the Malais tongue, and
 read publicly to the people, who testified great
 joy; and likewise a letter from the King himfelf,
 earneftly entreating his affiftance. The feventh of
 October, he came in fight of the Portuguefe fleet,
 and made the neceffary preparations for an attack.
 He advanced briskly, and played fo furiously upon
 the Portuguefe gallies, that about five o'clock in
 the evening, they feemed difpofed to retreat. But
 as they were obliged to pafs through the middle of
 the Flemifh fleet, they received a terrible fire.
 However, they got to the fame place where the
 Flemings had formerly caft anchor; and a calm,
 in the night time, prevented their being chaced.
 The Vice-Admiral had only three men killed, and
 a few wounded. There were likewise a few killed
 aboard

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aboard the *Garden of Holland*, by the enemy, and two by the bursting of one of their own cannon. Rahu Bongso, the King's brother, and Buyfen were spectators of the combat. When it was ended, Bongso came aboard the Vice-Admiral, attended by several of the chief men of the country; thanked him for the deliverance that he had afforded them; and made him a present of a poignard. A number of pirogues joined the fleet, and brought presents of fruits, and other refreshments.

NEXT day, the King himself arrived with four or five small gallies, and forty pirogues, to give chase to the Portuguese, in conjunction with the Flemings. Accordingly, they came up with them two days after, and another engagement ensued, which lasted for seven hours. The Portuguese fled to some small sloops they had with them, and, at night, retired towards Pedro Blanco. As these sloops were, before the engagement, placed in order of battle, the Flemings imagined, that they would have been attacked by the King of Johor. But, his pirogues made no movement, and allowed them to pass without doing them any injury. Next morning, the Portuguese fleet was seen at about a league's distance. The Vice-Admiral, after having performed so signal a service to the King, told him, that he must necessarily take his leave. The King expressed his gratitude in the warmest terms, and insisted much that the Vice-Admiral would continue some time longer, promising that he would procure him a cargo of pepper. But, as provisions began to grow scarce, he did not chuse to make any longer stay. The King, desiring to know in what manner he could make any return for his seasonable assistance, Pieterz begged that he would show all favour to the Flemings, and keep the pepper

pepper for such of their vessels as should come to his ports; and added, that if the Portuguese should return, he might write, by the Flemings left at Johor, to their countrymen at Bantam or other places in the East Indies, who would be always ready to give him their aid. They parted from each other with the warmest professions of mutual friendship.

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THE Vice-Admiral again set sail, about the middle of October; and, in the beginning of next month, anchored opposite to Patana. He procured liberty to build a ware-house, and a considerable quantity of pepper. He left Patana the 8th of February 1604; but, four of his men continued behind with Daniel Van de Leck, who had been stationed as Commissary there by Van Neck in his second voyage. When he arrived, on the 6th of April, on the coast of Pulo, or Panian, about half a league from Bantam, he learned from a vessel he met with, that Admiral Waarwyk, with five of his ships, and the *Ram*, a yacht, was gone to Joartam; that he proposed to make from thence to Johor; or, if the wind should be contrary, to the Moluccas, where he had already dispatched the *Parrot* with money and goods, to purchase spiceries, and to have them ready when he should arrive. The Vice-Admiral, next day, got into the Road of Bantam, went ashore, was kindly received, and purchased some pepper. He got accounts from Johor, that some Portuguese had come there in hopes of shutting up the harbour; but, upon being informed that the fleet had been chased away, thought proper to retire, after soliciting the King, in vain, to banish the Flemings from his dominions. The twenty-first of April, the Vice-Admiral in the *Ziricksee*, the *Garden of Holland*, and the *Goose*, set out for home. They suffered much

Bantam.

much in their route, and were obliged to pass some time at the Cape of Good Hope, where, on the twenty-ninth of September, the Vice-Admiral died, being the seventy-sixth man lost in these three ships during the voyage, which, soon after, and without any farther accident, was happily completed.

THE Admiral's squadron, from which the other ships had separated, the fifteenth of December, 1602, in the Road of St. Bras, in latitude 34 degrees, did not arrive at Bantam until the twenty-ninth of April 1603, owing partly to calms, and partly to contrary winds. Waarwyk found, that there was abundance of pepper in the town; but, as the Directors of the Company had expressly recommended to him to procure, if possible, that the duties demanded at that port should either be abolished, or at least reduced, he passed three months in endeavouring to accomplish this design. An agreement was at last made, and in a short time, three of his vessels got a full lading. At first, he paid five reals of eight for each sack, which he afterwards bought at four and a half. The *Erasmus*, one of his ships which he had sent to Gressy or Gressick, a place behind Madura, on the coast of Java, returned with only one half of a cargo, part in mace, which had cost at the rate of sixty reals the barre. He next sent the *Erasmus* and the *Nassau* to China, having provided them with a healthy crew, and given them instructions to land at Canton, and attempt to carry on a trade with the natives. The twenty-ninth of August, the *Virgin of Enckhuysen* and the *Concord* set sail for Holland, in company with the ships under the command of Spilberg. Their cargo consisted of nine thousand four hundred and fourteen sacks of pepper, and eighty-three
barres

barres of mace. Next month, the Admiral dispatched two more of his fleet to Joartam, where he thought they would complete their lading, and where the duties were more moderate than at Bantam. They were ordered to stay there until he should join them, when they would go in company to the Moluccas. Two more of his ships returned home with Heemskerck, having on board fourteen thousand and five hundred sacks of pepper, one hundred and seventy-two barres of mace, five barres of nutmegs, and fifteen barres of cloves. He purchased for the remaining part of his fleet, a considerable quantity of cloves, paying from fifty-seven to sixty reals the barre. A place was assigned him for building a house of stone to defend his goods from fire. It was in a situation very proper for a fort: But the natives suspected that he might have in this view, and therefore would not allow him to erect so large a building as was once proposed. In September, he was joined by the *Holland*, the *Flushing*, the *Star*, and the *Ram*, from Achin. The *Star*, after completing her cargo, part of which was taken from aboard the *Sun*, returned home, and the Admiral, with the rest sailed for Gressick. But before he left Bantam, he established a kind of factory there, by leaving behind him ten of his crew, to whom he gave particular instructions for their conduct, and twenty-seven thousand four hundred and seventy-two reals of eight, as a stock for purchasing commodities *.

WAARWYK arrived at Gressick, the twenty-fifth of September, and as it was a place fit for commerce, and the King seemed favourably disposed,

Gressick.

* This year no less than 48,000 sacks of pepper had been shipped by the English and Flemings from Bantam for Europe.

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posed, by permitting him to build a warehouse, he established a factory there likewise, consisting of seven persons, whom he provided with money and goods. He dispatched the *Parrot* to Banda, with some money to purchase a cargo for the *Moon*, which was soon to follow, while he, with the other vessels, steered westward towards Johor. The *Moon* accordingly parted from him, the fifteenth of January 1604; but the rest of the fleet, after sailing until the twenty-fifth of February, made no more than forty or fifty leagues, and found themselves near the Island of Crimaté, about fourteen leagues to the west of Borneo. The Admiral, however, resolved to pursue his intended route, but sent the *Sun* to Ternate. He arrived at Johor in the beginning of May. Though he was disappointed in not finding here the Vice Admiral, who, as Buyzen told him, was gone for Bantam, yet he got very agreeable news of the *Erasmus* and *Nassau*. When they had come before Macao, they discovered a carrack ready to sail for Japan. The Portuguese, surprised at their appearance, took to their boats, ran ashore, and left her. She was richly laden; her cargo consisted of silk, and a small quantity of gold. After taking out the cargo, the carrack was burnt. The acquisition of so valuable a prize made the Flemings alter their resolution of going to China, and return to Bantam. In this route, they fell in with a jonck, which they likewise took, but after a very obstinate resistance. The crew said, that they came from China, and were going to Siam; and blamed their Captain for forcing them, contrary to their inclination, to stand so long on their defence. Though she was laden with silks, yet, as she belonged to the Siamese, who had always been friendly to the Flemings, she was dismissed. The two vessels having completed

pleted their lading at Bantam, left that place, the twenty-seventh of January 1604, and arrived safely at home, in the end of August. Book IV.
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THE King of Johor no sooner heard of the Admiral's being come, than remembering the services done him by the Flemings, he sent, in token of his gratitude, a present of twenty small sacks of pepper, containing two barres and a half. A suitable present of powder and ball was made him by the Admiral, in return. The fleet staid here only a short time, and touched at Patana, merely to take on board some Chinese, from whom information might be learned that would be useful in the voyage to China. Hearing from the Siamese whom he met with, that their King sent every year an Embassy to the Emperor of China, the Admiral wrote a respectful letter to the King; sent it by James Speix, accompanied with presents; and begged that Speix might be allowed to go in the Ambassador's train. When the Admiral got on the coast of Peho, an island which depends upon Peho. the province of Sinscan, he put one of the Chinese ashore, with letters to the Mandarin, craving liberty to trade. While he was waiting the success of this application, he was joined by the *Ram*. No return was made to the letter, but every day some of the chief men of the country came on board, and, without saying any thing positive on the subject, demanded large presents. These conferences lasted until the eighteenth of November, when a fleet of about fifty joncks, filled with soldiers, surrounded the Flemings, and the commander of the Squadron desired the Admiral would go away, because it was contrary to the laws for strangers to trade, without the express permission of the Emperor. He was informed, at the same time, that the whole province was alarmed; that

two

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two Chinese, deputed by the Portuguese, had come with a large sum of money as a bribe to prevent the Flemings being allowed to trade; and, by the representation they gave, made great impression upon the minds of the inhabitants. The commander of the Chinese fleet professed much respect for the Admiral; advised him to retire into some other port in the neighbouring islands, not under the government of China, where he should be provided with a cargo; and even, at his desire, lent him a jonck to search for a road. But not finding one that was convenient, Waarwyk proposed, by the advice of several of the Chinese, to return to Patana. and was promised, that three or four joncks should be sent after him, laden with valuable goods.

THE Admiral, though disappointed in not being permitted to trade in that country, hoped that such a favourable opinion would be entertained of the Flemings as might prove of advantage in some future period. He did not chuse, however, to go directly to Patana, but wished the Chinese might be there before him, that by exposing part of their cargo to sale, they might not have it so much in their power to oppose upon him with respect to the price. Accordingly, he took his route for the island of Pulo Timaon, intending there to refresh his men, who began to be afflicted with the scurvy. When he came to Timaon, the sixth of January 1605, he dispatched the *Flushing* for Bantam, to complete her cargo, and to go from thence home. While he was lying at anchor, he saw a ship about three leagues to the south east he imagined to be a Portuguese carrack from Macao. He gave her chase for a long time, but at last, desisted, being afraid of protracting his voyage too long, and of being forced by the winds and currents

currents into the middle of the Portuguese fleet, which he believed might be in the river of Johor. In making for the coast of Patana, he was driven out to sea, and carried to within two leagues of the Malais coast, where he could not procure any refreshments. Coming near the shore, he learned from the natives that a message might be dispatched to Johor, or Batafawer, by land, and the answer returned in four or five days. He sent a letter, by a Malais, to enquire what was passing, who came back with an account of the *Flushing*. She had taken a Portuguese vessel, near Pedro Blanco, mounted with six pieces of cannon; and after remaining in the harbour of Johor, with the prize, for some time, during which, a Portuguese fleet of three ships of war, fifteen bantins, eight fusts, and two small pirogues came into the river, but did not dare to attack her, had gone to Bantam. The Admiral likewise learned that the King of Bantam was dead, and that his two sons were at war with one another about the succession. The twenty-fourth of the month of February, he was joined by one of his yachts which brought him rice, and arrack, and letters from Speix, dated in September, 1604, desiring a large sum of money for his voyage to China. But as it was not the Admiral's intention that he should go there in quality of an Ambassador, but only as a domestic of the King of Siam, and consequently would have no occasion to give presents, he did not think proper to grant this request.

Soon after, arriving at Patana, and having obtained leave from the Queen to go in quest of a Portuguese carrack that was on the coast, he came up with her, and the crew surrendered on condition of their lives being spared, and of being

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set at liberty. But they had already saved the best part of the goods, which they had sent to Malacca, and other places. Though the booty was not so great as was expected, yet the taking of this vessel was attended with the effect of setting the Court of Patana at variance with the Portuguese. Waarwyk gave the Queen twelve thousand reals of eight for the right she claimed to the remaining part of the cargo, consisting of sugar, camphire, silk, velvet, porcelain, and some other articles. The Admiral continued here until the twelfth of December, without receiving any intelligence of the joncks which were promised to be sent him from China; during which time he was joined by the *Flushing*. Before he went away, he gave a present of some powder, balls, and musquets, to the King of Johor, who was meditating an enterprize against the Portuguese vessels at Malacca. Having put seventy men, partly Flemings, and partly negroes, into the prize, he went again for Bantam, where he got intelligence that the proposed embassy from the King of Siam to the Emperor of China had been delayed for another year; that, in the mean time the King had died; and that, as was customary upon the accession of a new King, an embassy would soon be appointed. But as the Admiral was not able to afford the money Speix asked, he was recalled, and accordingly came back, accompanied by some principal men among the Siamese, who brought presents which, they said, were designed for the Prince of Orange.

WAARWYK now prepared for going home. Having taken in provisions, he set sail from Bantam, the sixth of February 1606, with the remainder of his fleet. The *Holland*, his own ship, grew so leaky, that he unloaded great part of her cargo, and

and distributed it aboard the *Amsterdam*, the *Zea-land*, and the *Flushing*, which continued their route, while he, and the other ships, stopped at the island of Maurice, to refit. He dispatched a yacht to Bantam with orders for the carrack, the prize which he had left there, to join him as soon as possible. But having waited until the fourth of November, when the vessels were completely repaired, without her appearing, he again put to sea, and the twenty-eighth of January 1607, anchored in the road of St. Helen's, where he staid some time, and refreshed his men. He left that place in the end of February ; and, in three months after, finished his voyage, which had lasted no less than five years*.

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THE General Estates of the United Provinces, not willing to give any offence to James of England, in their manner of conducting a treaty of peace†, sent two of their Deputies to London, who, with Carron their Resident, might beg of his Majesty to give them his advice and assistance, and for this purpose name Commissioners to repair to the Hague. Not only was this done with the consent of the French Ambassadors, but the instructions given to the Deputies were drawn up by their direction. The French Ambassadors conceived an opinion, that the Confederates would willingly continue the war, if they were assured

The Confederates send an Embassy to England.
July 14.

Y 2

* Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi, &c. tom. 4. p. 167—425. Grotius. Pontanus. Arthus.

† James was displeased that he had not been consulted before making the truce. “ The suddenness of the proceedings seemed strange to his Majesty ; the more he looketh into the same, and into the circumstances of it, the more he hath cause to think, that a matter of this nature, and so nearly concerning himself, should not have been so reservedly carried from him.” Earl of Salisbury to Winwood ; Mem. vol. 2. p. 305.

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of sufficient support from both Henry and James. On this account, the Deputies were ordered to lay before his Britannic Majesty a state of their affairs, and to inform him what aid would be required; but at the same time to assure him, that Henry would not grant any, unless his Majesty would likewise contribute.

Views of
James of
England.

JAMES had greater reason than Henry to be pleased with the continuance of the war in the Netherlands, and no ground to entertain any fears from an increase of the power of the Confederates. The situation of his own dominions rendered him secure. He had Flushing, Rammekins, and Brille, in his possession; and a considerable part of the Confederates army consisted of English and Scots soldiers. Besides, by the Spanish forces being employed in the Netherlands, he was in less danger of being disturbed by the ambition of Philip. But his own pacific temper, his aversion to be at any expence, and perhaps, the consciousness that he had not much influence with the Confederates, led him to wish that some agreement was made between the Arch Duke, and the United Provinces. He was very well satisfied, therefore, with the deputation from the States, which flattered his vanity, and gave him a fairer opportunity of taking such a part in the intended treaty as would oblige Philip to have recourse to his mediation. For these reasons, he very readily consented to appoint Commissioners, who should act jointly with those of France. Sir Henry Neville, and Sir Thomas Bodley were first designed for this employment. But both of them refusing to accept of it, Sir Ralph Windwood, and Sir Richard Spencer, were named *.

BEFORE

* About the same time Bentivoglio, afterwards Cardinal, came to Brussels, as Nuncio from Pope Paul V. with instructions

BEFORE they arrived at the Hague, Ney, who had been sent to Madrid, was returned, and Spinola had demanded a passport for Lewis Verreiken, the Arch Duke's Secretary, who would lay the ratification of the truce before the General Estates. Various conjectures were formed concerning the manner in which Philip would express his consent. As Verreiken was known to be a man of great address in business, it was thought by some, that he was chosen for the purpose of prolonging the negociation, and discovering the inclinations of the Confederates; and that by his cunning and promises he would attempt to corrupt some of the principal men, and gain them over to the interest of Spain. Some imagined, that the ratification would either contain certain restrictions, or be drawn up in ambiguous terms; others, that it would be expressed in the plainest manner, that no suspicion of insincerity might be excited in the minds of a people, who were determined to have their independency acknowledged, and who would be very easily diverted from listening to proposals of peace, if there was the least appearance of an intention to deceive. What the French Ambassadors chiefly feared from one of Verreiken's character being entrusted with the ratification, was, that endeavours would be used to make a perpetual alliance, and an offensive and defensive league between the Confederates and the Provinces under the government

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Dispute
about the
ratification.

tions to attend to the progress of this negotiation, and particularly to every opportunity which it might afford for procuring any advantages to the Catholic religion, in the United Provinces. But he was not concerned publicly in the treaty. To this able statesman and elegant writer we are indebted for an excellent history of the wars of Flanders, and a relation of the treaty for the truce. Grotius, p. 520.—Baudius.—Meursius.—The instructions to the English Ambassadors are inserted in Winwood's Memorials, vol. 2. p. 329—335.

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vernment of the Arch Duke, from which Henry could derive no advantage. So much were they impressed with this opinion, that Jeannin had a particular conference with Barnevelt on the subject. He represented the inconveniencies and danger of an alliance which would cause the United Provinces to be abandoned by all their friends, leave them to the discretion, and expose them wholly to the vengeance of the King of Spain and the Arch Duke. Barnevelt acknowledged, that the worst consequences would follow from such a league; and assured Jeannin, that the General Estates would never treat on these conditions; but would much rather enter into a league with Henry against those who always entertained bad designs, and wished for nothing more than the power to put them in execution †.

July 24.

THE event showed there was some foundation for suspecting that Philip's consent to acknowledge the United Provinces as Sovereign and Independent would not be expressed in such plain and direct words as had been demanded. The passport being granted, Verreiken had a public audience of the General Estates. His address to that Assembly was made in the Flemish language, and couched in very respectful terms to the Estates, whom he styled *Noble and Puissant Lords*, and to Maurice, who was likewise present. He first told them, that the Arch Duke, from a sincere desire of putting an end to the war, had obtained from the King of Spain a ratification of the truce, in due form, and as full as they could desire. He next begged two things of the General Estates: that they would recall their ships of war from the Spanish coast; and that they would inform him what was necessary in order

* Negotiations de Jeannin, Lettre au Roy, 6 Juillet.

order that a treaty might be begun. When the ratification was produced and read, it appeared very defective. It was written on paper, not on vellum. It was not subscribed by the King, as usual, when he addressed Foreign States, but signed Yo EL REY, *I the King*, as was the custom when addressing his own subjects; and the small, not the large seal was appended. Albert and Isabella were styled *The Lords and Sovereigns of the Netherlands*; and the principal article was wholly omitted, the acknowledging the United Provinces as Free States, to which the Arch Dukes had no pretensions. The General Estates again assembled two days after, to deliberate what answer they would give. All agreed, that a Ratification which was defective both in form and substance ought not to be received. A deputation was sent to Verreiken, to inform him of their objections to the ratification; to enquire if he had any thing farther to propose in writing; and, if he had none, to assure him, that, as the Arch Dukes had not fulfilled their engagement, there was no occasion for him to stay any longer at the Hague. Verreiken, who was, no doubt, prepared for the objections, made no other reply than some general declarations of the sincerity of the Arch Dukes intentions, with an apology for the titles given them, and the omission of the clause concerning the independence of the Provinces, both of which he attributed to the negligence of the transcriber. He added, That the Arch Duke was so much disposed to a peace, and had obtained such ample powers from Philip for this purpose, that he was persuaded, if the present Ratification was not thought sufficiently clear and express, the General Estates themselves might make a form of such a writing as would give them entire satisfaction, and that another Ratification, in the very words of that form, would be returned in a month.

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BOOK IV. a month. He offered to remain at the Hague, as
 1607. a security for the fulfilling of this promise; and, if
 they pleased, under a guard. At the same time, he
 begged, that they would recall their fleet, which
 would be a proof of their being really inclined to
 peace, and might induce the Court of Spain to
 comply more readily with their demands*.

and the re-
 calling of
 the fleet.

THE General Estates appointed some of their
 Deputies to consult with the French Ambassadors,
 whether they should recall their fleet; and to draw
 up such a form of a Ratification as Verreiken had
 asked. They were told by Maurice, That, as it
 was not reasonable to comply with a request made
 by an enemy, who had failed in his engagements,
 and, as it had been determined by the advice of all
 the Provinces, that the fleet should not be recalled
 until the Ratification was made in the proper
 terms, this resolution could not be altered without
 obtaining the consent of the Provinces; and that
 two of them, Zealand and Friseland, with several
 Deputies in the Estates, would violently oppose its
 being changed. The Ambassadors, though they
 approved of the resolution already made, yet de-
 clined giving any advice in a public capacity, lest,
 by its being openly published in the Assembly of
 the General Estates, the King of Spain, and the
 Arch Dukes, should be confirmed in the opinion
 they had often expressed, that the King of France
 was really averse to any treaty. Notwithstanding,
 they sent a message privately to Barnevelt, by Vau-
 dernal his son-in-law, recommending to him to
 adopt the sentiments of Maurice which would pro-
 bably be approved by the greater part of the Pro-
 vinces, and to use his influence with the Deputies
 to

* Haræus. Grotius, lib. 16. Jeannin. Bentivoglio. Meur-
 sius. Baudius, lib. 1. p. 26—32.

to engage them in the same views. They recommended likewise the drawing up a form of a Ratification. BOOK IV.
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IN the Assembly of the General Estates, it was agreed, though not without some difficulty, to allow six days to Verreiken to write to the Arch Dukes, and receive their answer. With respect to the recalling of the fleet, there were violent disputes. Though the greater part of the Deputies were willing it should be immediately ordered home, yet they were so keenly opposed by the Deputies from Zealand and Friseland, that the matter was left in a manner undetermined. For they declared, that if, during the six days granted to Verreiken, any other writing was sent by the Arch Dukes, which proved satisfactory, the demand would be granted; but if nothing else than what they had already seen was produced, it would be refused. Those who wished the fleet to be recalled immediately, acquiesced; the more willingly, as they expected it would return within the six days, without any positive orders. When the time granted to Verreiken for procuring an answer from the Arch Dukes was expired, sixty-one days more were allowed him; and soon after, having got a letter from President Richardot, he demanded an audience, when he informed the General Estates of its contents. The President told him, that the Arch Dukes had delayed making any answer, until the return of a courier dispatched to Madrid; but charged him to assure the Estates, that the Arch Dukes were much surprized to hear of the objections raised against the ratification from Spain; because, being annexed to the same writing, by which they ratified the truce, it ought to have been interpreted as confirming the other in all points; and, as Philip had rejected no part of that agreement,

Aug. 8.

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ment, he should have been considered as approving of the whole. The President farther observed, that their Highnesses, in order not to afford any pretence for deferring the negotiation, had sent a messenger to Spain, to procure a ratification more formal, but insisted that the fleet should be instantly recalled, to prevent any accident happening which might cause a change in the sentiments of either of the parties *.

The States agree to recall their fleet.

THE leading men among the States were of very different opinions concerning this demand, which always accompanied the promises made by the Arch Dukes. Barnevelt declared, that it ought to be granted. He said, that all the towns of Holland were anxious to give the King of Spain satisfaction in this point, because they had a great number of ships in Italy, and were afraid that Philip would revenge on them the affront he had received on his own coasts. The loss, in this case, would fall chiefly upon the Province of Holland, to which almost all of them belonged; the town of Horn alone having no less than thirty merchant ships in that fleet. He thought that it would be impossible to equip a new fleet this year; that it would be very difficult to prevail with the Province of Holland to put any men of war to sea, as it had done formerly; that peace was earnestly desired by the people, who, even in case the King of Spain should not ratify what the Arch Dukes had done, would not push the war with their usual vigour; whereas, if the fleet was recalled, the blame would be thrown upon their enemies, and would be keenly resented. Maurice, on the other hand, opposed the recalling of the fleet; and even seemed much

† Jeannin Negotiations, Lettre au Roy, 30 Juillet. Memo-
rials of Winwood, vol. 2. p. 325.

much inclined to reject altogether any overtures for peace. He maintained, that it would be more proper to fit out another fleet, as the only means of bringing Philip to reason; that if the demand now made was granted, his Majesty would lay aside all fears, save the expence of putting his marine in order, and hiring sailors; that he would think no more of the ratification, but amuse the Estates with the view of peace, while he made every preparation for supporting the Arch Dukes; that the Estates could not agree to the demand, without altering their former resolution, and showing their enemies that they were afraid of them, and willing to accept of a peace on any terms. Though he was supported in this opinion by the French Ambassadors, yet they represented to him the necessity of acting with caution, that the people might not be driven to despair; and advised him, if he could not prevent the fleet being recalled, to endeavour to make it an express condition, that Philip's ratification should be produced within a certain fixed time, at no great distance, and that if it did not arrive within this period, the General Estates should be at liberty, to send out, if they pleased, another fleet. The General Estates, after serious deliberation, resolved that six weeks should be allowed for the Ratification coming from Spain, which they insisted should be written in French or Latin, subscribed by the King, and expressed in the very words of a form put into Verreiken's hands *; and, to show respect to the Arch Dukes, who had no concern in the mistake, agreed that the fleet should be recalled.

WHEN Barnevelt, in a full Assembly of the Estates, reported these resolutions to Verreiken, he

* This form was drawn up by Barnevelt. Jeannin, Lettre au Roy, 10 Aout.

took

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took this opportunity of observing, that if the Arch Dukes were sincere in the negotiation for peace, they ought not to use oblique and suspicious measures for accomplishing this end. Producing the jewel, and Spinola's obligation for the payment of fifteen thousand crowns, given by Ney to Aërsens, he expressed, with warmth, the detestation with which the Estates viewed an attempt to bribe any of their members. He told him, that in an assembly composed of more than seventy persons, who were bound to take the advice of a great many others in the Provinces and towns, these practices must be ineffectual; that if any such should be discovered, those who allowed themselves to be seduced, would be severely punished, to the disgrace of all who had recourse to so mean and base an artifice as that of bribery; that the States would return the infamous presents, and, by this means, show, that as they were closely united together by the ill treatment they had received, and the tyranny exercised by the King of Spain, so they were firmly determined to preserve that liberty which they had gained at the expence of so much blood and treasure. Verreiken was struck with this unexpected reproof, and could make no other reply, than that what had happened was without the knowledge of the Arch Duke, whose intentions, he assured them, were sincere and upright.

Opinions
concerning
this negoti-
ation.

VARIOUS conjectures were now formed concerning the issue of this negotiation. While some thought that it would produce either a peace, or a long truce, others reflecting upon the Spanish greatness, suspected, that though Philip might seem to agree, yet he would have a treacherous design in view. Some imagined, that the great expence of the war, and the danger which threat-
ened

ened the Spanish trade in the East-Indies, had now convinced Philip of the necessity of granting the Confederates reasonable conditions. He had cause to be afraid, that if they should find themselves too weak to oppose his power, they would seek the protection of France; and that the other Provinces of the Netherlands would perhaps follow their example. Many could not be persuaded, that there was any thing serious in the present transactions. They dreaded that they would end in subjecting the Provinces to the dominion of Spain; and that either a peace or a truce would be concluded with no other intention than to give Philip time to recruit his strength. They were afraid, that affairs could not much longer remain in their present situation, as the difficulties, on the part of the United Provinces, in carrying on the war, increased every year; that the immense contributions of late years could not possibly be continued; that the heavy taxes now demanded, would, at last, destroy their commerce; that the leading men would not be proof against the bribes which would be offered them; that military discipline would be neglected; and that if a peace was made, and Philip, as was probable, should break his faith, the people would never again enter upon the war with the same spirit, nor prosecute it with the same alacrity and firmness *.

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HENRY was always jealous of Philip's intentions, and wished that the Confederates would continue the war. At the same time, he foresaw that they could not expect much assistance from James. On these accounts, he instructed his Ambassadors to propose to the General Estates an offensive and defensive league. When they mentioned it first to Barnevelt,

Proposal for
an alliance
with France.

* Meursius, p. 269—272. Baudius.

BOOK IV. 1607. Barnevelt, he seemed greatly pleased; and assured them, that the Estates would be ready to enter into such an alliance either with Henry alone, or conjunctly with the King of England. Henry intended that it should be concluded privately, which would be almost impossible to accomplish, because all proposals of this kind must be laid before the States of each Province. But so keen was Barnevelt, that he thought it might be executed in the same manner as the treaty of alliance made with Elisabeth, in the year 1585, by each Province appointing a deputy, whom, together with Maurice and Count William, the General Estates might empower to treat, with a promise to ratify whatever they should do. But many difficulties occurred. Henry perceived that an offensive, as well as a defensive league, would be considered as a total rupture with Philip and the Arch Dukes; and would oblige him, in case the war continued, to bear a great part of the expence; that if this league was made before the treaty was concluded, James would decline entering into it, in order to be free from his share of the expence, and to avoid the appearance of being too closely allied with France, lest he should render himself suspected by the Arch Dukes, which he would always endeavour carefully to avoid. As the Confederates, likewise, expressed their inclination that James should join in the alliance, Henry, at last, thought it proper to restrain his proposition to a defensive league only, which would give less umbrage to Philip, and at which the Arch Dukes themselves could not quarrel, after having acknowledged the United Provinces as free States to whom they pretended no right. The next point, then, was to fix this alliance before the Confederates should finish their treaty with the Arch Dukes.

WHILE

WHILE several conferences were held concerning the terms of this proposed league, Sir Ralph Winwood and Sir Richard Spencer, the English Ambassadors, came to the Hague. The two first days were spent in ceremony, and a third in attending the funerals of Buzanval, who had died the third of September. The arrival of the English Ambassadors made many who wished for war imagine that it would be continued. But, their conduct in their first audience gave little encouragement to these expectations. They expressed themselves in general terms, signifying the good opinion their master entertained of the Confederates, and his readiness to give them assistance. They discovered no zeal for carrying on the war, nor any forwardness to contribute towards the expence. They intimated, at the same time, that they were ordered to do nothing but in conjunction with the Ambassadors from France. Accordingly, a deputation was appointed by the General Estates, to wait on both, and to represent to them the state of their affairs. They informed the Ambassadors, that they were ready either to prosecute the war with vigour, or to conclude a peace on the proposals made by the Arch Dukes; but, as they were resolved to take no step without the consent of their Majesties of France and England, begged their advice. The Ambassadors, after consulting together, agreed upon an answer, in which they told the Estates, that they could not, with propriety, either make, or approve of any overture for continuing the war, now that they themselves had made advances towards a peace, and the Arch Dukes had declared they were willing to acknowledge them Free States, promised to obtain a like declaration from Philip, and engaged to consent to such conditions as would render the peace firm and lasting. They said, that, as their majesties had
always

BOOK IV.

1607.

Arrival of
the English
Ambassa-
dors.
Sept. 4.

BOOK IV.  1607. always testified their resolution to agree to any measures which the Estates themselves should think were for their own advantage, they would join their endeavours to promote so good a work: but, if it should happen, contrary to their desire and expectations, that a peace could not be obtained on reasonable conditions, and such as would secure the liberties of the Provinces, their Majesties would be equally ready to give them support. The scheme of a defensive alliance went on very slowly, because the General Estates made large demands of succour, in case of the war continuing, and the English Ambassadors declined to enter into any conversation on this subject, until the new Ratification should come from Spain, and they could know whether there would be a peace between the Arch Dukes and the Confederates*.

Another Ra-
tification
produced.
Oct. 25.

THE time allowed to the Arch Dukes for procuring another ratification from Philip was very near elapsed, when Spinola sent a message to the General Estates, informing them, that the Ratification was now ready, and desiring passports for Verreiken and Ney, who would bring it immediately to the Hague. Accordingly, when they arrived,

* Jeannin, Lettres au Roy, et a Monsieur Villeroy, 17 et 26 Aout, et 24 Septembre.—As to the defensive league between Britain, France, and the United Provinces, James instructed his Ambassadors to observe the following cautions: “ I. That
“ it should depend upon the success of the treaty or truce to
“ be made, which, if it did not take place, the league was to
“ be void. II. That it be only *defensive*, and nowise to extend
“ to an *offensive*, which would be incompatible with his Ma-
“ jesty’s friendship with Spain. III. That it be particular
“ betwixt his Majesty and the States, in one instrument; and
“ that betwixt the States and French in another instrument:
“ because his Majesty is desirous, as much as may be, to avoid,
“ at this instant, to be drawn into farther league with France
“ than he now is.” Winwood’s Memorials, Vol. 2. p. 359.

arrived, and were admitted to an audience, they assured the Estates of the friendly dispositions both of Philip and the Arch Dukes, and of the sincerity with which they entered into a negociation for peace. Producing the Ratification, they said that it was agreeable to the form; but confessed, that it was not written either in Latin or French, as they had demanded, but in Spanish, and in the same stile his Majesty used to all the Kings, Potentates, and Republics of Christendom.

BOOK IV.

1607.

THE Ratification was read, and compared with two translations, one in French, and another in Flemish, which Verreiken likewise produced, along with a copy of it in Spanish. Verreiken desired to keep the original in his own possession. The General Estates replied, that they would deliberate some time before they would give a decisive answer. The Ratification recited the acknowledgment by the Arch Dukes; confirmed all that it contained; and declared, "That Philip, in his name, and on his part, was willing, that the Arch Dukes should treat with the General Estates, in the quality of, and as holding them to be Free Countries, Provinces, and States, to which he claimed no right." He promised, on the faith and word of a King, to confirm and ratify all the articles of the treaty between them, and to observe them as faithfully as if they had been concluded by his own intervention and authority. He afterwards added, That if, by the principal treaty, a peace, or a long truce should not be concluded, and the parties should not adjust their pretensions, either in matters of religion, or other articles, this Ratification should be null and void, as if never made, and have no effect to weaken his rights and authority; but all things with respect to the rights of both parties should continue in the same state as at present.

Z

THOUGH

BOOK IV.

1607.

Objections
against it.

THOUGH this Ratification was expressed almost in the terms of the form drawn up by the General Estates themselves, yet they observed, that it was written on paper, not on vellum; that there was great appearance of negligence in the writing of it, as several words were omitted, and others interlined; and that it was subscribed, not PHILIP, but YO EL REY, in the same manner as the former *. They immediately, by some of their deputies, consulted with the English and French Ambassadors what should be done; intimated to them their suspicions that Philip wished only to protract the treaty, in order to prepare for war, and catch the opportunity to surprise them; and insinuated, that now was the proper time to make the defensive league which had been proposed. The Ambassadors gave their opinion, that, as the Ratification was in the stile of a placart, and, in substance, agreeable to the form which the Estates themselves had made, it was sufficient to encourage them to enter into a treaty with the Arch Dukes; but that they should deliberate, and, without any unnecessary delay, come to some resolution concerning the terms they would accept, and such alliances as they might judge proper for rendering the peace more durable and lasting.

A NEW difficulty, in the mean time, occurred. The General Estates were startled with the mention of Religion in the Ratification; and the deputies, who waited upon the Ambassadors, expressed their apprehensions that this article would be sufficient to make it be rejected altogether; because it seemed to imply, that it was Philip's design to bind them, in the treaty, to establish the Catholic Religion

* Baudius, lib. 1. p. 52—59. Grotius, p. 522. Haræus. Jeannin. Van den Sande. Bentivoglio.

Religion in the United Provinces. This subject BOOK IV.
 occupied the deliberation of the General Estates 1607.
 for several days; and, at last, after taking the
 advice of the Council of State, they agreed to send
 a deputy from each of the Provinces, to Ney and Nov. 2.
 Verreiken, to represent to them the defects they
 observed in the Ratification; particularly, that it
 was not entirely according to the form, as some
 words were omitted, and others inserted; that it
 was written in the Spanish language, in the manner
 of a placart; and that, by the clause in which
 Philip declares it should be void, in case the parties
 should not adjust their mutual pretensions, either
 with regard to religion or other matters, it ap-
 peared, that his Majesty had an intention to make
 some demand inconsistent with their Sovereignty,
 which, in another clause, he had expressly acknow-
 ledged. To these objections, Ney and Verreiken
 answered, That it was surprising the General Es-
 tates should pretend to oblige his Majesty to use
 any other stile than what he was accustomed to
 employ when addressing all Kings and Princes
 whatever; that there was no considerable omission,
 as the words which acknowledged their Sovereignty
 were as express as could be conceived; and that
 the clause where the word *Religion* was mentioned,
 could not reasonably give offence, as it was capable
 of no other interpretation than that, when the
 treaty commenced, each party might propose con-
 cerning this article, as well as the others, whatever
 they should think proper*.

THE General Estates followed the course usual It is sent to
 when affairs of such importance were to be deter- the several
 mined. They remitted the Ratification to the Provinces.
Nov. 11.
 Z 2 several

* Jeannin; Advis des Ambassadeurs; Lettre au Roy, 27
 Octobre, et 6 Novembre.

BOOK IV. { several Provinces; told the Arch Dukes Commis-
 1607. sioners, that within six weeks they would give their
 final answer, whether they would enter into a treaty
 or not; and desired, that their Highnesses would
 send to the Hague, within ten days, Commissioners
 fully instructed and authorised to explain their in-
 tentions. They declared, at the same time, that
 they would never admit of any thing, which either
 directly or indirectly could be interpreted contrary
 to the Ratification, and the promises of the Arch
 Dukes; and that, in case they should enter into a
 treaty, they trusted that nothing would be pro-
 posed, either on the part of Philip or of the Arch
 Dukes, which could affect the state or government
 of the United Provinces*.

Nov. 14. AFTER this resolution, another dispute ensued.
 Ney and Verreiken were doubtful, whether to leave
 behind, or carry away with them, the original of
 the Ratification. They pretended that they had
 been charged to show it only, and to give copies,
 but to retain the original until the treaty was at
 least begun. As the General Estates insisted to
 keep it, Ney was obliged to make a journey to
 Brussels, and consult the Arch Dukes. He soon
 after came back to the Hague, with an account
 that the Arch Dukes had consented the original
 might remain with the Estates, provided they would
 give a writing acknowledging that their Highnesses
 had fulfilled their promises, and engage to deliver
 up the Ratification, if the treaty did not succeed.
 The General Estates refused to grant such an ac-
 knowledgment, or to part with this seeming pledge
 of their liberty. Ney went again to Brussels, and,
 when he returned, gave notice, that the Arch
 Dukes

* Deliberation des Estats sur l'Acceptation de la Ratification
 du Roy d'Espagne, en Jeannin Negotiations, p. 430. Baudius,
 lib. 1. p. 60—62.

Dukes had agreed it should remain in their possession, and without the obligation which was at first demanded. Both Ney and Verreiken departed for Brussels, there to wait the decision of the Provinces, to be reported to a meeting of the General Estates on the tenth of December †.

BOOK IV.

1607.

Nov. 17.

As it was impossible to say, with certainty, what would be the opinion of the Provincial States, every one talked according as his own particular sentiments influenced his judgment. Most people, and among these the French Ambassadors, imagined, that the several Provinces would advise entering upon the conferences for a peace, but that their deputies would be expressly charged to admit of no restriction nor limitation of their liberties; and that they would consider, in this light, any attempt to obtain by treaty, that the Catholic religion should be restored, or that they should not be allowed to regulate their internal government as they pleased. Religion having been mentioned, though in the slightest manner, in the Ratification, alarmed many, who had always suspected the proposals for peace. They thought, that to introduce the Catholic, would effectually destroy the Reformed Religion; they remembered that the Catholics had generally favoured the Spaniards; and they dreaded, that, by admitting the exercise of their religion, an opportunity would be afforded them for attacking the liberties of the Confederates, as, by this means, the Catholics would discover their own numbers and strength, and, of course, form dangerous factions.

Different
opinions
concerning
what should
be the deter-
mination.

MAURICE declared in the Assembly of the General Estates, that the Ratification, as it was drawn up,

Opinion of
Maurice,

† Meursius, p. 275—278. Grotius, p. 523. Jeannin. Baudius. Haræus.

BOOK IV.

1607.

up, confirmed him in the opinion that Philip intended only to amuse them, and therefore ought to be rejected. He maintained, that though the necessity of Philip's affairs had forced him to make some acknowledgment of their independence, yet, by the manner in which he had done it, and particularly, by introducing the article of religion, he sufficiently discovered that he had no intention to renounce any of his pretended rights, whatever treaty might follow. He argued, that the Confederates had never so fair a prospect of carrying on the war with success. The enemy's troops were in disorder, and being without discipline, would be greatly enfeebled by frequent mutinies. The Confederates army was numerous, and obedient to the command of their officers; well paid, and sufficiently provided with every thing necessary. The Kings of England and France, and many of the German Princes, were well disposed towards the United Provinces. The Spaniards had already suffered much in the East Indies. Like advantages would soon be gained over them in the West. Listening to the deceitful offers of peace, in such a situation, would have the effect to lull the people asleep; to debilitate them by idleness; to forfeit the friendship of those whom their former resolution had attached to their cause; to give their enemies access to create divisions and factions, and thus accomplish, by artifice, what they were unable to gain by their arms. At the same time, he assured the Estates, that, for his own part, he would rest satisfied with having given his opinion, and would conform to whatever should be the determination of the Provinces.

Of Barnevelt.

BARNEVELT, on the other hand, answered, in support of the opposite opinion, the objections which had been urged against accepting the Ratification,

cation, and, of consequence, against entering into a treaty; as, that the Spaniards were not sincere, and, that because necessity forced them to propose a peace, they meant only to watch a more favourable opportunity to destroy the liberties of the Provinces. He observed, that as far, at least, as the treaty had yet advanced, the Confederates had obtained all that they demanded. For though the Ratification was not perfectly agreeable to what had been asked, yet it differed only in the most trivial circumstances; while the principal article, the acknowledging of the Independence of the States, was expressed as clearly and fully as they could wish. There could be no weight in the objection, that it was written in Spanish, a language perfectly well understood in the Netherlands. That language, with the same subscription, was used in the ratifications of peace between the Crowns of Spain, and those of England and France. The clause where religion was mentioned could possibly admit of no other interpretation than the meaning obvious from the very words. There was nothing unreasonable in Philip providing, that, if no agreement was made, things should continue in their former state; and, if after a treaty was concluded, the Spaniards should still pretend some right, this claim could not be of any prejudice to the Confederates. Such a right would never be allowed; and recourse must be had to the only remedy in this case, the decision of arms. The continuing the war was to the last degree dangerous. Spain, though always a formidable power, had become, since the commencement of the quarrel, still more so, by the acquisition of Portugal, and could scarcely ever be destitute of resources. The Confederates depended, in a great measure, upon the assistance which they might receive from England and France.

BOOK IV.

1607.

France. To the hazard arising from the uncertainty of war, they were exposed likewise to the danger of any alteration happening in the sentiments of the neighbouring Princes, or in the situation of their affairs. Whereas, by taking advantage of the present disposition of Philip, they might put an end to a war, which could not be much longer continued without the greatest difficulties; they might expect the most reasonable terms of peace; during the season of tranquillity, might regulate every part of their internal government; pay the debts already contracted; lessen the heavy burdens under which the people groaned; and establish their liberties on the firmest foundation. By this means they would become the envy of their neighbours; have their friendship courted by foreign Princes; and be placed in a situation that would effectually remove all apprehensions of being ever reduced under the yoke of the Spanish government*.

Ambassadors from Denmark, and some German Princes arrive.

SUCH was the fame of this negotiation, that it attracted the attention of almost all the Princes of Europe. Ambassadors came from the King of Denmark, the Elector of Brandenburg, and the Elector

* Jeannin, Negotiations.—Bentivoglio ascribes the opposition of Maurice to his ambition; and says, that as he not only had the command of the army, and was Governor of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, and Overijssel, but also, as his brother Henry was General of the cavalry; his cousin, William of Nassau, Governor of Friseland and Groningen; his other cousin, Ernest, Governor of Gueldres; and that, as his authority chiefly depended upon the continuance of the war, his aim was to seize some favourable opportunity of acquiring the sovereignty of the United Provinces. The same writer imputes Barnevelt's conduct to his desire of lessening the power of Maurice, that, by this means, the public liberty might be more safe. Perhaps, it is going too far to attribute the conduct of either wholly to these motives. Bentivoglio was strongly attached to the Spanish interest.

Electoꝛ Palatine, all of whom professed their high regard for the Confederates. But the Emperor Rodolph was contented with sending letters addressed to the General Estates, in which he reminded them of the favours they had received from his father and himself, and the endeavours they had frequently used to procure peace in the Netherlands. He expressed his surprize, that the Confederates had begun a treaty without having first consulted him, and demanded that they should be declared free States, when it was well known, that the Netherlands were a Fief of the Empire. He desired them therefore to consider, that a matter of this importance ought not to be transacted without his knowledge, and that nothing they could do to the prejudice of the rights of the Empire, could be valid. He required them, in order that he might be prepared to defend these rights, to inform him what were their intentions, and to take no measures without his consent *.

Book IV.

1607.

Claim made by the Emperor.

THUS the Emperor endeavoured to acquire some influence, by reviving a claim, ill founded, and now obsolete ; at a time too, when he himself must have been sensible that it would meet with no regard. He wrote in similar terms even to Philip and Albert. It was true, that though Gueldres had been long enjoyed by the family of Egmond, without acknowledging the Emperor, the antient Princes of that country were accounted to be under the patronage of the Empire, and were called, first, Tutors or Guardians, afterward Counts, and lastly, Dukes. The Bishops of Utrecht, who likewise possessed Overysfel, and to whom, in the temporal jurisdiction, Charles V. succeeded, took an oath of fealty to the Emperor. The Frisons, and the

Observations on this claim.

* Meursius, p. 278, &c. Grotius. Ens. Baudius.

BOOK IV. ^{1607.} the inhabitants of the country beyond the Lawers, acknowledged their dependence, first on the Franks, and afterwards on the German Emperors, by paying some small tribute, and furnishing some troops. In other respects, they retained their liberty, which was confirmed to them by Charlemagne; by others, after his time; and, at last, by the Emperor Sigismund. Their mixed form of Government, partly Aristocratical, partly Democratical, with sometimes a Chief, called the *Podestas*, who was invested either with perpetual authority, or limited to a certain time, had continued for seven hundred years. Afterwards, the Emperor Maximilian attempted to appoint the Frisons Governors from among the Saxons; but they were never able to establish themselves, and, wearied out with the struggle, transferred all their right to Charles V. To Holland, with which Zealand was antiently conjoined, it was believed, that the Emperor had given a Governor, either of the Aquitaine race, or one of the native nobility. The instruments which, according to this opinion, conveyed to Thierry the hereditary right, make no mention of any fief. When the Empire was divided between France and Germany, the Germans were the most powerful upon the Rhine. But a charter of Otho III. granted to the Count of Holland, in free possession, what he formerly held in vassalage. Some of these Counts, however, who courted the favour of the German Princes, affected to call themselves vassals of the Empire, but insisted, at the same time, that they were bound to nothing but homage. The Burgundian Princes, and after them the Austrian, refused all fealty to the Empire; maintaining, that the Emperor Frederic had renounced his right in favour of Philip of Burgundy. Maximilian, the son of Frederic, used force against the inhabitants of Holland, and included

cluded that country, and the other dominions of BOOK IV.
the House of Burgundy, within the jurisdiction of 1607.
the Empire. But the states of the Province vigorously opposed this pretended claim. When Charles V. aimed at the Empire, and wished to exclude the French as foreigners, the Germans themselves objected, that the Flemings belonged to the German Empire no more than the French, as they paid no taxes, nor obeyed the laws and constitutions of the Empire. Charles, however, in order to gain his point, attempted to unite the Netherlands to the Empire. But when every thing urged for the right of the Empire, on one hand, and for the liberty of the Netherlands, on the other, was considered, he acknowledged that Gueldres and Utrecht only were feudatory. Notwithstanding, he endeavoured, that, for the future, the other Provinces likewise should make a part of the Empire, not by subjecting themselves to its laws and constitutions, but only by contributing as much as two Princes Electors; and, in return, enjoying the protection of the Empire, and a right to vote in the Diets. In consequence of this plan, the Flemings, when oppressed by Spain, applied to Germany for assistance; and in the conference at Breda*, the Prince of Orange, with a view to procure the favour of the Princes, maintained, that Holland and Zealand belonged to the Empire. This, however, Philip's Ambassadors positively refused. The Flemings, receiving no aid, withdrew, from that time, the payment of contributions. In this manner, the association projected by Charles V. was entirely dissolved; as happened in like circumstances with many other alliances of the same nature†. Yet, on these grounds did the Emperor Rodolph

* *Anno* 1575.

† *Grotii Historia*, lib. 16. p. 526.

BOOK IV. Rodolph pretend to interfere in the present transactions in the Netherlands, and to demand, that nothing should be concluded without his consent, or prejudicial to the rights of the Empire.

1607.

Answer by
the General
Estates.

THE Confederates were not now in a disposition to pay much regard to such pretensions, or to engage in the discussion of a right which they were resolved never to acknowledge. They answered, that they were surpris'd the Emperor had got no information of the affairs of the Netherlands, either from his Catholic Majesty, or the Arch Dukes; and that if they had understood this to have been the case, they would have given him an account. They next entered into the history of the applications which they had made to the Empire for assistance, and of the little effect they produced. They told the Emperor, that as at the very time when there was a Congress at Cologne *, and conferences held concerning a peace, in presence of Commissioners from the Empire, their enemies made use of that very circumstance to oppress them the more, they were obliged to have recourse to the last remedy, and, by a solemn decree, to declare that Philip, by violating these liberties which he had sworn to defend, had forfeited the sovereignty. From that period, several kings and princes had acknowledged them to be free; and alliances had been made with neighbouring States, by whose assistance, and their own bravery, they had maintained a long and expensive war. They had from time to time represented to the Emperor, the Princes of Germany, and the States of those Provinces which were now under the government of Albert, their strong inclinations to put an end to the war, by such a peace as would secure their liberties. Now, both Philip and Albert had consented to acknowledge

* Anno 1579.

knowledge their independence by deeds to this purpose, copies of which they transmitted to his Imperial Majesty; and they hoped, that the Emperor and the German Princes would approve of their conduct. The Emperor, after receiving this answer, interfered no more in the treaty *.

BOOK IV.
1607.

THE anxiety excited in the minds of all concerning what would be the result of the deliberations of the several Provinces, was removed, by their coming, at last, to a determination. Their Deputies reported to the General Estates, that though the Ratification had some defects, yet they were of opinion, that a treaty should be immediately begun with the Arch Dukes for a peace, or a truce; but on this express condition, that no infringement should be made upon their liberties, either with respect to the civil government, or matters of religion. This resolution passed without much opposition. The Province of Zealand alone, where Maurice had great influence, was averse to it; and for some time insisted, that the express words containing the confirmation of their liberties should be put in writing, and sent to the Arch Dukes, to which if they did not fully consent, there should be no farther proceedings. But this measure appeared too assuming to the rest of the Deputies, who wished much to hear what proposals would be made as terms of peace. The General Estates, after consulting with Maurice, Count William, the Council of State, the English, French, and Danish Ambassadors, the Elector of Brandenburg's Ambassador declining to take any concern in the affair, intimated their intention to the Arch Dukes, nearly in the same manner as they had formerly done, when the Ratification was transmitted

The United
Provinces
agree to
enter into a
treaty.
Dec. 20.

* Baudius, lib. i. p. 64—76.

BOOK IV. ^{1607.} transmitted to the several Provinces; and desired that they would, in ten days, send to the Hague Commissioners properly empowered to treat both in the name of Philip, and of their Highnesses. When they gave the letters containing this resolution and request, to Ney and Verreiken, they farther begged, that if the Arch Dukes should send Commissioners, they might be informed of their number, names, and the day on which they would come to the Hague. As the time of the truce was near expired, it was prolonged for six weeks more by mutual consent *.

^{1608.} So great were now the expectations of a peace, ^{Both parties dismiss some troops.} that both parties began to dismiss part of their troops. The Arch Duke was obliged to do so in order to prevent farther mutinies. The seditious soldiers at Diest still threatened more disturbance, if they did not immediately receive their pay. He was forced to promise them their arrears, within a limited time; and Spinola again employed both his own credit, and that of his friends, by which means he raised four hundred thousand crowns. This money was given them, and the mutineers distributed among other regiments. But when Albert considered the vast expence which they had cost; the checks they had given to his operations; how much disposed they were to disobey, even when only small sums were due to them; and how ready to assist the enemy, he determined, with the advice of Spinola, to disband them altogether. Accordingly, all concerned in that mutiny were ordered to depart out of the dominions both of Philip and

* Meursius, p. 276, &c. Grotius. Bentivoglio. Haræus. Baudius. This year, the Chamber of the accounts of the Generality was instituted for assisting the Council of State in the management of the finances. The instructions given to this Chamber may be seen in Janicon, Etat Present, tom. 1. ch. 4.

and of the Arch Duke, in twenty-four hours; and if any of them were found in these territories after that time, it was declared lawful to put them to death. Many, who neglected to obey the order, were taken and hanged. Some, who had gone to places which they had plundered, were likewise seized, and shared the same fate. A few escaped into Holland*.

Book IV.

1608.

THE East India Company still continue continued to extend a commerce which was found very beneficial. At the very time that the General Estates resolved to enter into a conference with the enemy, a new fleet was equipped. It consisted of thirteen vessels; four of them were of a thousand tons burden, one of eight hundred, one of seven hundred, two of six hundred, and one of four hundred and sixty; the other four were yachts, two of which were of two hundred, and the other two of twenty-two tons burden each. They were well prepared in case of an attack. They had on board between one thousand eight hundred and one thousand nine hundred men, twelve brass, two hundred and sixty-three iron cannon, and one hundred and two patereroes, with plenty of ammunition, and provisions for three years. They were put under the command of Peter William Verhoeven, as Admiral, and Francis Wittert, as Vice-Admiral. The expence of equipping this squadron was estimated at two million seven hundred and ninety-six thousand two hundred and thirty-three livres†.

Thirteen ships sail for the East Indies.

THE situation of affairs in the Netherlands favoured the project of a defensive alliance between the

The Confederates make a defensive alliance with France. January 23.

* Haræi Annales, tom. 3. p. 656.

† Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi, tom. 7. p. 1. &c. Thyfii Historia Navalis, p. 180.

BOOK IV. 1608. the United Provinces and the Kings of England and France. The General Estates were anxious to show Philip, that, in case a peace should not be made, they would have a powerful support in carrying on the war; and before the deputies departed to their several Provinces, in order to deliberate on the ratification from Spain, drew up a plan for this purpose, which they presented to the English and French Ambassadors. One article, however, appeared very unreasonable. They demanded, that, for a certain number of years, their allies should furnish them with three millions of livres a year. They alledged, that this sum would be necessary to enable them to defray some unavoidable expences at the commencement of the peace; such as, the money they must pay to their disbanded troops, to prevent their mutinying; and the maintaining thirty thousand foot to be kept in their garrison towns, amounting to the number of eighty, which, they said, could not be otherwise preserved, as they were situated on the frontiers; and the Arch Dukes, besides their ordinary garrisons, consisting of twelve or fifteen thousand men, could, in a few days, raise as many troops, and would probably attack those towns, if not properly secured. They said likewise, that they proposed to keep some cavalry, and at least forty ships of war; but that the peace would greatly reduce the funds out of which they used to be supported; and that the several Provinces, and many of the towns, were owing much debt, for which they were already pressed, and which must be paid immediately upon a peace. The Ambassadors answered this demand in the manner that might have been expected. They represented, that as the General Estates ought to put a high value upon the friendship of their masters, so they could not reasonably desire their allies to contribute

contribute to the ordinary expences of the government; but should rest satisfied with the promise of assistance, in case of any attempts made against them by their enemies; that it was not probable the Arch Dukes would make peace with them, and immediately break it; especially, when they were secure of aid both from England and France. Several other propositions were made by the different parties; but the English Ambassadors at last declared, that they could enter into no treaty, unless on the express condition, that at the same time, the particular affairs in which the King of England and the United Provinces were specially concerned, should be settled; such as, the disposal of the cautionary towns; the regulations of trade between the subjects of both; and the payment of the money due by the General Estates. James always imagined, that Henry was not sincere in any offers he made of assisting the United Provinces; concluded, that both Philip and the General Estates were determined to put an end to the war; and thought, that it would be more prudent in him to guaranty the peace, after it should be made, than, by taking a part at present, to give offence to Philip. He had therefore instructed his Ambassadors to decline entering into any alliance until the treaty should take effect.

THE French Ambassadors perceived the views of the English; and therefore pressed the Deputies of the States to make a separate alliance. In this scheme they were strongly supported by Barneveldt; and, as the difficulties, concerning the terms were gradually lessened by mutual concessions, the States began to be less afraid of giving umbrage to the King of England. The treaty was accordingly concluded with Jeannin and Ruffy, who had their commissions renewed on account of the death of

A a

Buzanval,

BOOK IV. Buzanval, and a special power given them for that purpose. The name of James was inserted in the preamble, where he was joined with Henry, as being requested by the General Estates to contribute his aid to put an end to a long and bloody war. The General Estates insisted, that some notice should be taken of James, in order to give an appearance of paying respect to him; with a view to make it be believed that he had not entirely abandoned them; and because they imagined that he would soon become a third party in the treaty *. Henry, on the other hand, entered into this alliance in opposition to the advice of some of his council who indirectly favoured the Spaniards †. In consequence of this treaty, he became bound to use his utmost endeavours to procure for the General Estates a reasonable and lasting peace; to support them against all who should attempt to violate it; for this purpose, to succour them with ten thousand foot at his own charges, and expence; and for as long as this assistance should be necessary. If a greater force should be required, he engaged to furnish as many more horse and foot, as his own affairs, and the safety of his dominions, would allow; but these additional troops were to be maintained at the expence of the General Estates. They, on the other part, promised, that, in case he should be attacked, they should furnish five thousand

* “His Majesty,” says the Earl of Salisbury, “paused a while, in respect of many considerations both public and private. The French seeking to draw from us all manner of dependency, and recognition of obligation by the States, and took hold straight of our dilation, and concluded a particular league with the States, leaving his Majesty to conclude afterwards.” Letter, 19th May, in Winwood’s Memorials, vol. 2. p. 401.

† Mezeray, *Abregé Chronologique de l’Histoire de France*, tom. 3. p. 538.

land foot, at their own charge, or, at his choice, ships of war which might cost the same expence; and, if necessary, a greater force; the additional charge to be paid by the King. Trade was to be free to the subjects of both States; and neither party to make peace with the enemy without the other's consent *.

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1608.

THE Spanish Ambassador at Paris did not fail to complain to Henry of this transaction, as dishonourable to his master. Henry not only justified his conduct, but insisted, that he had done real service to Philip, by following that course which was the most effectual for facilitating a peace in the Netherlands. It sufficiently showed, however, to Philip, that no agreement would be made with the United Provinces, without Henry's interposition and consent; and obliged him to send Don Pedro de Toledo, one of the chief noblemen in Spain, to Paris, to secure, if possible, his mediation. In the several United Provinces, the conclusion of this alliance was celebrated by public rejoicings †.

AT the same time, an Ambassador arrived from the Prince of Hesse, who joined with those of the other Princes in professions of regard for the Confederates, and in expressing a desire that a league might be formed for affording each other mutual assistance. But as they had not powers for this purpose, they only recommended to the General Estates, that, in case a peace should be made with Spain, care should be taken that the losses of the House of Nassau should be indemnified; that satisfaction should be given by the Spaniards for the

An Ambassador comes from the Prince of Hesse.

A a 2 damages

* Meursius, p. 285. Grotius, p. 533: et Jeannin, where the treaty is inserted, p. 503, &c.

† Bentivoglio, p. 3. l. 8.

BOOK IV. damages done by Mendoza in Germany ; and that
 1608. none should be allowed the exercise of the Catholic religion within the jurisdiction of the General Estates*.

The Arch
 Duke's
 Commis-
 sioners ar-
 rive at the
 Hague.
 February 1.

THE General Estates, when informed that the Arch Dukes had appointed the Marquis Spinola, Richardot President of the Council of State, Mancidor Secretary to the King of Spain in matters of war, Ney, and Verreiken, as their Commissioners†, to negotiate the treaty, were very much offended, because there were no natives of the Netherlands in this nomination. But, upon consulting with the French and English Ambassadors, they agreed to admit them, without insisting upon the objection of their being foreigners, contrary to what had been demanded. The frost prevented them from coming along the Schelde, as they had once proposed, and obliged them to travel by land, under convoy, escorted by Justin of Nassau, Governor of Breda and Bergen-op-zoom. They were accompanied by three hundred attendants and servants, and forty carriages. When they came near the Hague, they were received at Ryswick, by Maurice, Henry, and William, with seventy horsemen, and eight chariots ; and conducted into the town amidst a prodigious concourse of people ‡. Having, at their first audience,

Feb. 6.

* Meursius, p. 286. Baudius. Grotius.

† A copy of their instructions is inserted in Jeannin, Negotiations, tom. i. p. 51—58.

‡ Spinola went along with Maurice in his chariot. It is said, that Maurice addressed him, at their first meeting, in these terms ; “ God, who makes this sun to shine, and is acquainted with the most secret thoughts, knows how much I rejoice at your arrival. Time, whose daughter is Truth, will discover my sincerity.” To which Spinola answered, “ This day is highly agreeable to me ; and I trust, God will
 “ give

audience, declared the design of their commission, William of Nassau, Walrave, Lord Brederode, and one Deputy from each Province, were appointed to treat with them, in name of the General Estates. Some days were spent in examining the powers of the respective Commissioners. Both those from the Arch Dukes, dated at Brussels, twelfth January, which contained a power to treat not only in their name, but likewise in the name of the King of Spain, and those from Philip to the Arch Dukes, dated at Madrid the tenth of January, by which he allowed them to treat, and to agree to whatever terms they thought proper, were admitted to be sufficient; especially as they contained, likewise, a declaration of the Independence of the United Provinces.

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WHEN the Commissioners entered upon business, the States Deputies declared, that they would talk nothing upon the subject of a peace, unless previously assured, and in the most express terms, that the other Commissioners would treat with them as Free States, to whom the King of Spain, and the Arch Dukes, for themselves, and their successors, pretended no right. This was instantly granted, when an incident happened which caused long debates. One of the Deputies, taking up the Commission from the Arch Dukes, observed, that round the seal, were the arms of all the seventeen Provinces. He immediately mentioned this circumstance, which he represented as a proof that the Arch Dukes, notwithstanding their declarations, had still a design to reserve some pretensions of right. Richardot answered, that the General Estates

Conferences.

“give me his grace, and grant my wishes, that I may be duly
 “grateful, and make a suitable return to such respect paid me
 “by a most excellent prince.” Haræi Annales, tom. 3. p.
 657.

BOOK IV.
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Estates had no reason to be surpris'd, as it was very common for Princes to retain not only the arms, but the titles likewise of dominions which they had lost; as his Catholic Majesty, that of King of Jerusalem; and the King of England, that of King of France: that it was not the intention of the Arch Dukes to retain any title derived from the United Provinces: but to prescribe to them so haughtily, and to lay down a rule for this purpose, would be to irritate them unnecessarily, and without any advantage to the Provinces themselves; as the words in the writing sufficiently expressed their meaning, and deprived them of all rights or pretensions. At the third meeting, the States Commissioners insisted, that if the Arch Dukes were sincere in what they had promised, they would renounce both for themselves, and for their heirs, all right and pretensions to the territories of Drenthe and Linghen, and all the other territories at present acknowledging the jurisdiction of the General Estates; and likewise desist from using the title, or arms of the United Provinces. Accordingly, they added to the scheme what they had drawn up for the treaty, a clause excluding Philip and the Arch Dukes from ever bearing the arms, names, or titles of the United Provinces; and declared, that they would not depart from this article. The French Ambassadors being of opinion, that it could not be refused, Richardot consented, on condition that the other articles should be settled; and at the same time, told the States Deputies, that they hoped the Confederates would, on their part, yield somewhat in favour of the King and Arch Dukes, particularly in the article concerning the navigation to the Indies *.

THE

* Bentivoglio, Meursius, and Haræus, say, that the Commissioners did not consent to this article until they had acquainted

THE readiness with which the Arch Duke's Commissioners complied with this demand, raised some suspicions. Many imagined that they had assented merely to persuade the Confederates, in the beginning of the negotiation, that their intentions were sincere, while, under the specious appearance of that liberty they had granted, their intention was to insist more strenuously on other articles, which would either, in fact, weaken the effect of this concession, or excite intestine divisions in the Provinces. It was reported, that the Arch Duke's Resident at London, had said, on this occasion, that the acknowledgment of their independence was of no great importance, because the Arch Dukes were confident violent dissensions would ensue; and that, in consequence of this declaration of their liberty, advantages would be gained by a peace, which had in vain been hoped for from war †.

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THE obstinate debates which immediately followed gave some countenance to these suspicions. For when the article concerning commerce was mentioned, the States Commissioners proposed, that trade should be free to both, and that the Confederates should not be loaded with any other taxes than those paid by the natives and his Catholic Majesty's subjects. But the Arch Dukes Commissioners insisted, that the Confederates should abstain altogether from trading to the East Indies. The States Deputies absolutely refused to agree to this proposition, which, they said, would deprive them

Debate concerning the trade to the Indies. March.

acquainted the Arch Dukes, and got their permission. But this circumstance is not mentioned by Jeannin. Grotius.—Baudius. Haræus.—Bentivoglio.—Ens.—Jeannin.—Meursius.

† Meursius, lib. 5. de Induciis, p. 289.—Baudius, lib. 2. p. 87—98. Grotius. Haræus.

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them of the most important branch of their commerce, and of a right to which they were entitled by the law of nations. It was maintained, on the other side, that they had no right to what they did not enjoy before the war; and that they could not reasonably expect more than had been allowed to the French and English, the former being excluded by the peace of Vervins, and the latter by the peace of London, from trading to these countries which the Castilians and Portuguese had discovered and for a long time frequented. They were likewise told, that Philip would never give up this point, nor allow them a trade to Spain, unless they, in return, renounced their trade in the East Indies.

Representa-
tion by the
merchants.

WHILE many conferences were held on this subject, books were published, representing the great advantage of foreign commerce to the Confederates, and how imprudent it would be to renounce it for the sake of a free trade to Spain. The very situation of the Provinces, it was said, pointed out commerce as the chief source of their wealth and greatness. Unless it was extensive, their numerous inhabitants could not be maintained. Experience had already proved the great utility of their intercourse with distant kingdoms. Were these navigations cut off, eight thousand seamen would be deprived of a livelihood, and forced to leave the service of the States *. In the course of

* Ens (Bell. Civ. Hist.) says, that the East India Company alone employed 40 ships; that they had on board 5000 men; and that the yearly profit made by the trade was about 30 millions of florins. Bentivoglio says (Rel. 1. 2.), that a Commissioner from the East India Company represented, that the Company alone employed 150 ships and 8000 men; and Pise (p. 738.), that the trade to the Indies employed 180 ships, from 5 to 700 tons, and 8808 men. This was probably the amount of

of fifteen years, the profit had been considerable; and, no doubt, would still encrease. Other countries, as yet little known, were to be explored; and, perhaps, it was reserved for the Confederates to discover that vast tract which lay under the South Pole. The ships fit for the Indian trade were likewise fitted for war; and as some of them were always at home, could be employed in the public service, upon any emergency, without much additional expence. The ships used in the trade with Spain, would, on the contrary, be unable to make any resistance, and become an easy prey to an enemy. It was but reasonable, that other States should share with Spain in the wealth of the Indies; and the eagerness which Philip showed in endeavouring to exclude them, whilst it discovered the chief reason why he desired peace, shewed the necessity of refusing his demand. Even other princes were interested in this cause; for if the Confederates were deprived of trade, they could be of no service to their allies or neighbouring Princes. The only aim of the Spaniards was to do mischief, whenever they had the power; that of the Confederates, not to suffer wrong, or be unjustly oppressed. Nature had made the sea open, and free to all, as the air. Though the Confederates did not visit the Indies before the war, they, notwithstanding, had a right to do so; nor could the longest possession destroy the laws of nature and of nations. Such as pretended to shut

of the whole shipping to foreign parts; for a considerable trade was likewise carried on by private adventurers, to the coasts of Guinea and America. Grotius gives the following account: that 20 large ships sailed to Guinea; 80 to the Salt Islands; 20 to the other coasts of America; and 40 to India alone; and, that no fewer than 8000 sailors were employed in these navigations, p. 536. Baudius gives the same account with Ens and Grotius; lib. 2. p. 100 & 101.

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shut up the sea, ought to be considered in no other light than pirates, and the common enemies of mankind. Peace, without a liberty to trade, was nothing else but a method of destroying all means of defence. The faith of the Confederates, hitherto unspotted, would be shamefully sullied, if they should desert the Indian Princes with whom they were in alliance, and leave them to the mercy of the Spaniards. If Philip intended to fulfil his engagements, the Confederates must be free, and each party retain what they now possessed. There was no reason to value so highly his renouncing part of his supposed right. This was not a gift, but only an acknowledgment of the truth, without which he could not expect any agreement. In vain had they taken up arms in defence of their liberties, and in opposition to the demands made by the Duke of Alva baneful to commerce; in vain had they, during a course of forty years war, spent so much treasure and blood, if now they should voluntarily submit to slavery, and allow themselves to be banished from the Indies by the arbitrary will of their enemies *.

THE Directors of the East India Company likewise applied, by petition, to the General Estates, against a proposal so prejudicial to their interests. They set forth, that the great naval force which the United Provinces had acquired, chiefly by the extension of their commerce, was the principal reason why neighbouring Princes and States cultivated their friendship; that the trade with Spain was never to be put in the balance with the trade to the Indies; that though the former should be granted as a compensation for the latter, yet it would

* Grotii Historia, lib. 17. p. 536. Haræus. Bentivoglio. Jeannin.

would not probably be long enjoyed, because the Spaniards, as soon as they had gained the main point which they had in view, and when the naval strength of the Confederates was reduced, would seize upon their ships, goods, and sailors in Spain, and ruin them in a moment. They represented, that whatever profit was gained by the private adventurers, the public reaped still a greater advantage, by the employment given to such a number of ships and sailors, and an annual return of no less than forty-three millions of florins*.

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1608.

THE French Ambassadors endeavoured, in private discourse with the Arch Dukes Commissioners, to soften them on this article, and to convince them, that the excluding the Confederates from the Indies, was neither of such importance, nor so reasonable as they seemed to imagine. They alleged, that by opening the trade to Spain, the other would decline, because the goods bought in the Indies were purchased cheaper by the Portuguese than the Confederates; the latter being obliged to go in quest of a cargo farther up the country than the former, who were longer acquainted with the natives, and received their loadings in the very harbours. They maintained, that it was unjust, and contrary to the law of nations, to debar, in places where they themselves had no interest, others from a trade to which the
princes

* Bentivoglio. Meursius. Baudius. Though this representation was made by the East India Company, yet the annual return, as here stated from Meursius, p. 291, probably includes the profit of the whole foreign trade of the United Provinces, as the number of ships is rated at 180, and the number of sailors at 9000. This supposition is necessary, in order to reconcile this account with that of Ens and Grotius, as given above, p. 358. Note*.

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princes and people of these countries consented; that the ocean was so wide, and these countries so extensive, that it would be impossible to prevent all other nations; and that, in permitting the Confederates, they would be better able, when joined in friendship together, to preserve a great part of this trade to themselves. They suggested, likewise, that as they had judged a peace advantageous, they ought to consider, that, by refusing this liberty, the people concerned in the trade, and such as were averse to the peace among the Confederates, would probably unite; form the majority in the Provinces; and force the rest to renew the war. These arguments having no effect, the Ambassadors proposed, that the Arch Dukes Commissioners should consent to allow the Confederates the trade for six years, to such countries only where the Portuguese had no settlements; and that, a year or two before the expiration of this term, Commissioners from both parties might meet and agree whether it should be any longer continued*. This scheme was likewise rejected; as also, three propositions offered by the States Deputies by way of alternative, either, that an entire liberty of trade should be granted; or, that the fortune of such countries as lay beyond the tropic of Cancer should be decided by arms; or, that there should be peace on this side of the tropic, and a truce granted for the other. The Catholic Deputies would not consent to the trade being free, because they said that they had no powers for this purpose; nor to a peace in one place, while hostilities were carrying on in another, because they thought such a plan was unnatural; but showed some inclination to agree to

March 4.

* Jeannin, Lettres au Roy, & au Monsieur de Villeroy, 7 Mars.

to a truce in India, on condition, that after it was expired, the Confederates would abandon the trade. The States Deputies, however, continued firm in their resolution of not assenting to any restriction.

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WHEN there was no appearance of any accommodation whatever on this head, and the Ambassadors of France and England having insinuated, that this article might be delayed until the others were adjusted, the States Deputies desired, that all the articles might be put in writing at one time, in order that the subjects of the future conferences might be known, and deliberately considered. This the Commissioners at first declined; pretending, that it was an unusual form of proceeding; that they were ready to confer on any subject which should be mentioned; and, that if this measure was adopted, they might be precluded from taking into consideration other articles which might be suggested in consequence of new instructions, though the articles might be in themselves important, and necessary to be determined. The fact was, they were afraid this was a scheme formed by the party among the Confederates who wished for the continuance of the war, in hopes, that if the Commissioners should insert any thing not agreeable to all, as, for example, on the subject of religion, which they would be obliged to mention, a fair pretext would be afforded for breaking off the treaty. But, upon being assured by the French Ambassadors, that they were ordered by their master to attend to the interest of the Catholics, and told by the States Deputies, that they would be always at liberty to add what other articles they thought proper, both parties agreed to draw up certain heads,

Heads of
the articles
proposed by
both parties.
March 7.

BOOK IV. ^{1608.} heads. Those exhibited by the States Deputies were distinct and full, consisting of no less than twenty-eight different points, of which the principal were thus expressed; that the trade in the Netherlands should be open to all the inhabitants; that the frontiers should be ascertained; that all forts built on the Rhine should be demolished; that all proscriptions and forfeitures, on account of the confederacy, matters of religion, or of the war, should be reversed; that all merchant ships, detained since August last year, should be released, and the goods restored; that all foreign troops in the pay of the King of Spain, or the Arch Dukes, should be dismissed; that no inquiry should be made into the religious opinions of the sailors, merchants, and other inhabitants of the Provinces; that the antient privileges of the towns, enjoyed before the commencement of the war, should not be violated; that all prisoners should be dismissed without paying ransom; and that all Princes and States, who were friends and allies, should be comprehended in the treaty *.

WHEN this list was produced, the Catholic Commissioners observed, that the heads were numerous, and would require a long time for discussion; and produced theirs, consisting of seven articles only, indistinctly expressed in this style; concerning frontiers; restitution of goods; foreign commerce; regulating coin; the privileges and immunities of the trade of the English; matters of religion, and of neighbouring Princes. The States Deputies taking particular notice of the article concerning religion, and wishing to know the meaning,

* Meursius, p. 292, &c. Baudius, lib. 2. p. 107. Jean-
nin. Bentivoglio. Grotius.

meaning, asked, Whether the Commissioners intended that such persons only as were strangers in the Netherlands should not be molested on that account, or whether they designed to prescribe what form of religion should be established in the United Provinces? But they answered, that the meaning would appear afterwards, upon the discussion of this article, which was among the last, and of such importance as required that they should have more particular instructions from Philip and the Arch Dukes.

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WHEN the Commissioners entered upon the consideration of the future regulations for the trade at home, many difficulties were likewise started; particularly with regard to the duties on goods passing from one place in the Netherlands to another. The Arch Dukes Commissioners proposed, that no duties should be levied on any vessels from France, Spain, England, or any where else, which passed through Zealand for Antwerp, or any other place subject to the jurisdiction of the Arch Dukes. The States Deputies, on the other hand, maintained, that as the Confederates would be obliged to keep some men of war, it was reasonable these duties should be continued, in order to pay the expence. They likewise insisted, that the privileges of the towns of Middleburg, in Zealand, and Dort, in Holland, the former of which had the staple of the wines of France, the latter, of the wines of the country on the Rhine, should remain. They were afraid, lest, by allowing a free trade to Antwerp, the commerce of that city would greatly encrease, to the prejudice of their own towns. The Arch Dukes Commissioners demanded, on the contrary, that all duties imposed during the war should cease; that the monopolies which any towns had enjoyed while

Debate concerning home trade.

BOOK IV.  1608. while all the Provinces acknowledged one Prince, should be confined to such towns only as were under the jurisdiction of the General Estates; and that the Arch Dukes should be at liberty to erect new staples and monopolies, wherever they pleased. They hinted, likewise, that they intended to confer such a privilege upon Antwerp; and argued, that unless they had this power, the towns belonging to the General Estates would grow rich, while the others would be deprived of every advantage for trade. At last, however, they seemed to give up the point with respect to the staple, but keenly disputed the payment of certain duties levied by the Confederates in time of war. These were two, one paid as well by themselves as by their friends and allies, on all goods entering Zealand; the other, paid by enemies only. The former was moderate; the latter, much higher; for example, a ton of wine was liable, in the former case, to a duty of thirty sous only; in the latter, to a duty of four crowns. The States Deputies agreed, that after the peace, the duty formerly payable by enemies should not be exacted from the subjects of the Arch Dukes; and even consented, not only that the other duty should be levied upon the ships, not on the goods in particular, but likewise, that it should be lowered to one sol upon the ton, and that, too, payable only for five or six years. They said, that they could not demand this duty from their own subjects, and at the same time exempt the subjects of the Arch Dukes, without transferring all trade to Antwerp; nor abolish it altogether, without depriving themselves of the means of keeping ready equipped some ships of war. Richardot, notwithstanding of all these concessions, continued as resolute in requiring that no such duty should be levied, as Spinola had been
been

been in the other debate concerning the trade to BOOK IV.
the Indies †.

1608.

THIS last article, however, being considered as A new pro-
posal with
regard to the
Indian trade. of the greatest importance, employed, even during the conferences concerning other affairs, the serious deliberation of both parties. So opposite were their sentiments, and each seemed so determined, that it appeared probable these differences would put an end to the negotiation altogether. Richardot himself was particularly afraid this would be the consequence. One day, he mentioned the subject with great emotion, and made a very warm address to the States Deputies. “You are too obstinate,” said he: “Both Spinola and I repent our having
“engaged in a business in which all our endea-
“vours hitherto have been lost. If you continue
“in your present disposition, nothing can be done;
“and all prospect of procuring a peace, the greatest
“of earthly blessings, must vanish. Change your
“resolution; yield somewhat to the King of Spain;
“and, instead of destroying, exert your utmost
“efforts to end happily the important work al-
“ready begun.” This speech, delivered with earnestness, accompanied even with tears, and expressed with that eloquence for which the President was distinguished, was not entirely without effect. It induced some to be more moderate in their demands, and to wish that this affair might be brought to such an issue as hopes might still be entertained. Accordingly, a new proposal was made by the States Deputies, bearing in substance, that the Confederates should be free to trade during a truce for nine years in all such places in the Indies as did not belong to Spain; that they should not go to such places as belonged

B b

to

† Grotius, p. 539. Jeannin. Bentivoglio.

BOOK IV.

1608.

to Spain, unless with the consent of the Governors, or when forced by necessity; and that in these cases they should be treated as friends; that the same rule should apply to the Spaniards with regard to places which belonged to the Confederates; that the truce should commence in September this year, for countries on this side the Cape of Good Hope, and in September the following year, for such as were beyond the Cape; that during these nine years, no hostilities should be committed; the friends and allies of both parties should be comprehended in the truce; and at the expiry of seven years, commissioners from both parties should meet at Brussels, and endeavour to conclude a more certain agreement. The Commissioners for the Arch Dukes declined giving any opinion on this scheme, until they could learn the sentiments of his Catholic Majesty; and immediately dispatched Ney to Madrid, to receive farther instructions on this, and the other points which had been so keenly debated. As it was now the end of March, and the term formerly fixed for the cessation of arms almost expired, it was, by mutual consent, prolonged until the end of May*.

Scheme
formed by
Henry for
an East
India Com-
pany in
France.

WHILE Henry, during the whole of this negotiation, was attentive to the interests of the Confederates,

* Haræus observes, that in a meeting, held 25th March, the States Deputies proposed, as a security for the observance of the treaty, that his Majesty and the Arch Dukes should deposit in the Provinces 1,500,000 Crowns; and that the Estates should lodge in Spain 500,000. The King's Commissioners answered, it was never heard of before that money was given in such cases as a security; and that the proportion was unfair and unequal: But, if the States Commissioners pleased, the proposal might be remitted to his Majesty. *Annales*, tom. 3. p. 663. Nothing farther was mentioned concerning this article.

federates, he did not neglect any opportunity, nor overlook any circumstance by which his own might be promoted. The eager contentions about the trade to the Indies increased the more his opinion of the value of that commerce, and excited a desire that his subjects might enjoy some part of its advantages. Accordingly, he meditated a project of transferring it to France, in the event of the Confederates being excluded; and of erecting an East India Company in his own dominions. Jeannin, who was instructed to make particular enquiry into the state of the United Company's affairs, and to procure the information requisite for a scheme of this kind, possessed all these talents which could qualify him for conducting so delicate a business without raising any suspicion or jealousy. By means of his uncommon address, he brought the merchants to talk to him on this subject; and some of the Directors declared, that if they were not allowed this trade in the Netherlands, they would retire to France or England. It was necessary, however, to keep Henry's intention as secret as possible, because a discovery would equally irritate both the General Estates and the Arch Dukes. Henry himself wrote a letter to Isaac le Maire, who had often made voyages to the East Indies, was a man of great credit, fortune, and abilities, and who, as he learned, was willing to give his services on this occasion *. So careful was Henry to prevent the project being known, that this letter for le Maire was not subscribed, but transmitted to Jeannin,

B b 2

who

* This Isaac le Maire was the same person who afterwards, in the year 1615, projected the discovery of a new passage to the South Sea, and which was actually accomplished by his son, James le Maire, under his directions, by the Straits which still bear his name.

BOOK IV. who was desired to converse with him in the most
1608. private manner.

JEANNIN, accordingly, acted with the greatest caution. He sent a particular messenger to Le Maire, who, at that time, lived in Amsterdam, desiring to see him, but without assigning any reason, and without informing the messenger himself, or intrusting him with the letter which he proposed to deliver with his own hands. Le Maire waited on Jeannin in the beginning of the night, and returned again very early next morning, observing, as he himself said, this privacy, because it was known by the Directors of the East India Company, that he was well acquainted with Indian affairs, and attached to France. He told Jeannin, he had long thought of retiring to that country with a view of this nature; that he had three brothers, who proposed to join him; and had actually pitched on some chosen pilots and sailors, whom he had prevented, for some time, from going elsewhere; but, at last, thinking that the design of erecting a company in that kingdom was dropped, had allowed them to sail with the late fleet for the Indies. He was still willing, he said, to make the attempt; and would desire his brothers to come to him, and consult about this affair; but that it was necessary, first to know what would be the issue of the present treaty. For, if by the terms of peace, the United Company should be prohibited from the trade to the Indies, it might be carried on in France; and if even they should be allowed, the French, notwithstanding, by engaging in it as enemies to the Spaniards and Portuguese, might reap still greater profit than the Flemings, by the prizes which they would probably take. He observed, that it would require two years time to make the proper preparations;

preparations ; entered into several particulars of a plan which should be adopted ; and engaged, that he himself, with his associates, would be able to furnish four vessels, three of which should be from five to six hundred tons each, and one of two hundred, all fully equipped for the voyage. He added, that he was told by several captains and pilots who had been in the East Indies, that the Princes and people in that country had heard of the greatness of the French Monarchy ; often asked, if his Majesty would assist them in driving away the Spaniards and Portuguese ; and seemed very desirous of forming an alliance with him for this purpose. Jeannin likewise conversed with Plancius of Amsterdam, a celebrated Cosmographer, and well informed in the trade both to the East and West Indies, concerning the intelligence he received from persons who had been in these countries ; and prevailed with both him and Le Maire, to put in writing every thing they knew relating to the subject. Several others who were consulted by this sagacious politician, declared their resolution of transferring this commerce to France, if the Company in the United Provinces should be dissolved ; and even the Treasurer to the Company, who had great influence, expressed the same sentiments.

JEANNIN easily perceived, that in executing such a scheme, there was no occasion to wait the fortune of the Company in the Netherlands, because it appeared certain, that, whether there should be war or peace, that Company would continue the trade at least for some years. The chief difficulty lay in forming a company in France of strength sufficient to overawe the Confederates, who would be very much displeased with any other nation whatever interfering with them in
so

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so beneficial a trade, and would probably be inclined to join with the Portuguese, in endeavouring to exclude all others. It was prudent that any steps for such an enterprise should be taken with the utmost secrecy in the present state of affairs. No ground should be given the General Estates to imagine that the French Ambassadors were the more easy with respect to the article of the Indian trade, with a view to the advantage of their own country : neither should the Spaniards, who would never consider those as their friends who discovered any design upon the Indies, be offended. Though they might be sensible these countries were of such extent, that it would not be in their power to prevent all others from going there, they might, perhaps, be willing to allow the Confederates a share, that, by pursuing together the same interest, a greater force might be exerted. For these reasons, Jeannin was of opinion, that the scheme proposed should be kept secret until the conclusion of the treaty. Accordingly, the affair was dropped at present. The Spaniards were so suspicious of danger in that quarter of the world, that they were disposed to make every concession in order to secure their trade. Jeannin, therefore, was afraid lest they should discover his design, and prepare themselves for defeating it, either by detaching the English from the French, and joining with them in commencing war against his Christian Majesty, or, by entering into some agreement with the Confederates, by which they would unite in opposing such unwelcome intruders †.

WHILE

† Negotiations de Jeannin, Lettre au Mr. de Villeroy, 14 Mars, &c.

WHILE Ney was in Spain §, conferences were still held on the several articles which were proposed to form the intended treaty. In discussing the article concerning the exchange of places, the Arch Dukes Commissioners insisted, that as the States demanded Drenthe, and Linghen, as depending upon the Confederated Provinces, so the Arch Dukes should have Brabant and Flanders entire, including Breda, Bergen-op-Zoom, and other places, in the former of these Provinces; and Axel, Sluys, and others, in the latter. The States Commissioners represented this demand as inconsistent with the Arch Duke's promise, that each party should keep what they at present possessed. They were answered, it was the Arch Duke's intention, that the towns mentioned should be restored; but for the sake of peace, he was willing that they might continue, for some years, in the possession of the Confederates. At last, this article was referred until after the peace should be concluded.

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Debate concerning the exchange of places.

April.

THE article concerning the respective boundaries, or frontiers, occasioned much debate, but was argued with calmness, and with a disposition, on both sides, to accommodate all differences on that point. The States Deputies insisted to keep not only the places they held in Brabant and Flanders, but all the territories and jurisdictions belonging to them; and with the

and the frontiers.

§ Sir Charles Cornwallis wrote to the Lords of the Council in England, that Ney's arrival had "a little raised up the head of the hope of the peace, which before was almost fallen to the ground. If a peace it prove," says he, "such are the difficulties, as for mine own part, I shall think it like the peace of God which passeth all understanding." Letter, 19th April, in Winwood's Memorials, vol. 2. p. 387.

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the same right of sovereignty as the cities and towns. The Arch Duke's Commissioners, on the other hand, pretended to confine the rights of the Confederates within the walls of these towns, and to deny them the sovereignty, allowing them only to keep possession of these places with such a force as they might judge sufficient for the security of their frontiers. The States Deputies observed, in answer, that the sovereignty was already granted by the acknowledgment of their independence; but that they would consent it should be confined within the walls of the towns, if the rights of the Arch Dukes should in like manner be restrained with respect to such places as they held in Overijssel, Zutphen, and Gueldres. Richardot replied, that they were not in the same situation. He argued, that all the places held by the Arch Dukes belonged to them by succession, and a lawful title; whereas the General Estates had nothing but what they acquired by force; that the Arch Dukes had indeed renounced the Sovereignty where the General Estates were in possession of a whole, or the greater part of a Province; but that it was never understood the General Estates should share with the Arch Dukes in the sovereignty of Brabant and Flanders, which would be the case, if the sovereignty was annexed to the towns they held in these Provinces. Some conversation likewise passed concerning the confiscations and forfeitures; and it was agreed, that each party should put in writing their respective demands relative to these two articles §.

The truce
continued.

IN these debates the time allowed for the cessation of arms was consumed. Ney, too, was not yet

yet returned. It was therefore proposed to prolong the truce to the end of the year. Opposition was made to this by many, who alleged, that the troops would be enervated by so long inactivity; that if any of them should be dismissed, the Provinces would be left defenceless, and exposed to great danger, because they had nothing to depend upon for the cessation of hostilities but the promise of the Arch Dukes; and that the Confederates would not be in a fit condition for renewing the war, or even for procuring a reasonable peace, because the most powerful party generally prescribed the terms. It was said, that the Spaniards wished for delays; and a report was spread, that Philip had declared he would not treat with the Confederates, unless they would renounce altogether the trade to the Indies, and establish the Catholic religion in all the Provinces. The cessation, however, was continued until the end of the year, but under this condition, that if an agreement was not concluded by the end of July, all farther conferences should then cease †.

THE Ambassadors from England were, in the mean time, busy in adjusting their particular affairs with the States Deputies. Though the treaty with England was intended to be nearly on the same plan with that with France, yet there were great difficulties in settling the accompt of the debt due by the General Estates, and explaining the privileges claimed by the English with regard to trade in consequence of old treaties with the House of Burgundy, and some other articles. The debt owing by the States was at last liquidated §; and

The Confederates make a treaty with England. June 6.

† Meursius, p. 306.—Grotius.

§ An abstract of the state of the account may be seen in the Appendix, No. I.

BOOK IV. and though the Province of Holland, and the
 1608. town of Amsterdam in particular, were very
 averse to allow the English any privileges in trade,
 unless the Flemish merchants were indulged with
 the same favour in England, yet, the English
 Ambassadors insisted so warmly on this point, that
 the States Deputies were obliged to insert a clause
 which gave them entire satisfaction. By this de-
 fensive alliance, the King engaged to assist the
 Confederates with twenty ships and six thousand
 men, for the preservation of peace in the event
 of a treaty being concluded with Philip and the
 Arch Dukes. The States, on their part, were
 bound to assist James with the same number of
 ships, four thousand foot, and three hundred
 horse; and acknowledged themselves debtors to
 England for the sum of eight hundred and eigh-
 teen thousand four hundred and eight pounds
 Sterling, which they would begin to discharge
 two years after the peace, at the rate of sixty thou-
 sand pounds a-year. It was very unfavourable
 for the Confederates, that, to give this treaty any
 effect, they must first make peace with the Arch
 Dukes, within a limited time; and that, in case
 of refusal, James was absolved from all former
 engagements*. Notwithstanding, when the Eng-
 lish Ambassadors communicated the terms of it
 to the Arch Dukes Commissioners, and declared,
 that the design was to induce the Confederates
 to agree to the peace, the Commissioners were
 much offended, and told them, that they con-
 sidered it as an infraction of the treaty with
 Spain §. It was evident from the whole of
 this

* Memorials of Sir Ralph Winwood, vol. 2. p. 409.
 Jeannin, Negotiations. Birch. Grotius. Meursius.

§ The Arch Duke's Ambassador at London complain-
 ed of this treaty; "because if Spain should have cause
 " hereafter

this negotiation, that James was afraid of giving any umbrage to Philip: For, though his Ambassadors laboured to persuade the States Deputies, that he was not averse to renewing the war, if reasonable terms of peace could not be procured, yet, when they were pressed to name what succours he would give in this case, they always declined; because, as they said, they had no instructions on that head; and pretended that it was the business of the States themselves to make application for this purpose to his Majesty in person, by means of Carron, their Resident at London †.

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“ hereafter to fall out with the States, his Majesty would
 “ then be engaged for the States.”——James told him, that
 “ the treaty sufficiently provided for such a contingent;
 “ for if Spain and the Arch Dukes intended to keep
 “ their faith, there needed no farther dispute.” Earl of
 Salisbury’s Letter, in Winwood’s Memorials, vol. 2. p. 414.
 418. 419. 424.

† Winwood’s Memorials, vol. 2. p. 413. Jeannin.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
UNITED PROVINCES
OF THE
NETHERLANDS.

BOOK V.

WHILE Conferences were held frequently on the subjects of the several articles, the States Deputies expressed great dissatisfaction with the long stay which Ney made at Madrid. They got no intelligence of him until the middle of June, when Richardot produced a letter from him, excusing his absence, on account chiefly of the indisposition of the Duke of Lerma, to whom he had been referred by his Majesty for particular instructions. Verreiken had, at the same time, left the Hague and gone to Brussels, to consult the Arch Dukes; but promised to return soon. These delays appeared to be affected, and raised many suspicions. A great alarm was likewise given by accounts that Pedro Toledo had gone to France, to negotiate two marriages, the one between the Dauphin and the Infanta of Spain, who, it was said, was

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Report of a treaty between France and Spain.

June 17.

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was to have the principality of the Netherlands for her dowry; the other between the Prince of Spain and Isabella, Henry's daughter*. Barnevelt, in name of the States Deputies, informed the French Ambassadors of their having such intelligence both from Spain and Brussels; and begged to know what credit it deserved. The Ambassadors told him, that though such alliances were very natural between the families of two great Kings, they had got no particular advice concerning them from France; and assured him, in the most express terms, that his Christian Majesty would make no treaty nor alliance with any Prince whatever, which would be prejudicial to the interest of the General Estates, or contrary to his former engagements.

Opposition
made to the
peace.

THOUGH these declarations were often repeated, and the conduct of Henry, in the whole course of the negotiation gave a favourable opinion of his sincerity; though a very great majority of the Confederates were inclined to a peace†, yet there were others, who constantly opposed it, and, both in the public assemblies, and by writings, endeavoured to procure an end to be put to the treaty. They embraced every opportunity of condemning the zeal of the French Ambassadors for accelerating pacific measures. Even Ruffy had been induced to take this side of the question. For, he framed a memorial, which he sent to Paris, founded in some papers furnished him by one Francques, a great enemy to the Spaniards, and containing the opinion of those only who wished that the peace might be

* Grotius, p. 541. Baudius. Jeannin. Winwood's Memorials, p. 421. 422.

† Eighty in a hundred, and six Provinces in seven, says Jeannin.

be rejected. Jeannin, on the other hand, thought it his duty to lay the arguments on both sides fairly before his Majesty. His representation stated a number of facts which were of importance, and served to show the sentiments of the different parties. Those who maintained that a peace would, at present, be disadvantageous to the Confederates, said, that they were possessed of great and certain funds during a war, which, with the assistance of their allies, would be sufficient for continuing it with hopes of success; whereas a peace would so much reduce these funds, that they would not be sufficient for the maintenance of their garrisons, and such other charges as were absolutely necessary for the preservation of the peace; that by this means, they would be despised by their neighbours; and, on account of their weakness, be exposed to all kinds of injuries. One principal fund that would be thus reduced, was the taxes upon consumption, or upon all the necessaries of life, which amounted, during the war, to five millions five hundred thousand livres a-year. It was supposed, that the people who were accustomed to pay these taxes through fear of an enemy, and as the only means of their own security, would not pay them during a peace; that they would consider their being in alliance with two great Kings as sufficient for their safety; and imagine, there would be no necessity for forts and garrisons. These taxes would likewise diminish, as soon as the troops, who paid them as well as others, should be reduced from sixty thousand to ten or twelve thousand; and by many merchants and artisans, if trade was free from one Province to another, retiring out of the jurisdiction of the General Estates; and particularly, the Roman Catholics, if they were not allowed the exercise of their religion. Other taxes, likewise, such as those for convoys, licences,

Arguments
against it.

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licences, and dues of Admiralty, and which yielded, yearly, from seventeen to eighteen hundred thousand livres, would decrease, because the Arch Dukes Commissioners had declared, that they would never consent to their being paid by their subjects; because, in this event, these taxes must be also taken off the inhabitants of the United Provinces, otherwise the whole trade would center in Antwerp; and even other Princes would not suffer them to be demanded of their subjects. Another fund was the tax paid by houses and lands, very high at present, and thought insupportable, which must, in time of peace, be reduced; so that, instead of yielding, as now, about two millions of livres, it could not be rated above one half of that sum. The last article consisted of contributions raised from the enemy's country, which amounting to six hundred thousand livres a-year, must cease along with the hostilities. Another argument was, that the masters of ships and sailors, to the number of forty thousand, who had been accustomed to war, would lose all their military spirit; become mere merchants; and many of them enter into the service of the King of Spain. Lastly, it was urged, that peace would occasion many animosities and divisions, of which their enemies would not fail to take advantage.

Arguments
for a Peace.

THE party who, on the other hand, contended for peace, maintained, that the weakness to which it was supposed the Confederates would be reduced, was wholly imaginary. Though the principal fund was the tax upon the necessaries of life, yet the people would pay it as cheerfully as ever, if convinced that it was necessary for the preservation of their liberties and independence. The tax, however, might be lessened, and still enough left for the maintenance of garrisons. In the provinces of
Holland

Holland and Zealand, where the tax produced four millions five hundred thousand livres, there were few garrisons. It was not to be supposed, that the merchants and artisans would leave the country. A great part of the inhabitants, and all the strangers, had come on account of enjoying civil and religious liberty. At Antwerp, they would be overawed by a garrison; the sea was, in a great measure, in the power of the General Estates; and the Catholics might be prevented from going away, by allowing them, in some respects, the exercise of their religion; a liberty which might be granted without any danger. With regard to the other taxes, as the convoy money, licences, and dues of Admiralty, they could not, indeed, be levied in the same manner, in the time of peace, as during the war; but part of them might be retained, and secured by the treaty; and, because the Arch Dukes levied the same taxes on goods coming out of the United Provinces, the General Estates might certainly impose duties on such goods as came from the other Provinces; or, at least, adjust these affairs upon moderate and reasonable terms. But, if the Arch Dukes should abolish these taxes altogether, rather than allow them to be continued by the Confederates, they could not deprive the General Estates of the power of imposing, in their place, taxes upon beer, cheese, fishings, and the like. At any rate, the produce could never fall below what would be sufficient for their sea-armament, during a peace; whereas, the sum of one million eight hundred thousand livres a-year, arising from these duties in time of the war, was so far insufficient, that the province of Holland alone had expended, in twenty years, four millions more than they produced. The contributions raised from the enemy's country would, no doubt, cease entirely; but, at

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the same time, the contributions exacted by their enemies, with equal rigour and severity, from the frontiers, and such places as were subject to the General Estates, would likewise cease; by which means the country people, by being freed from this burden, would be better able to pay their proportion to the public, and, perhaps, even give some addition, in return for the blessings of peace. From all this, it was concluded, that, even after the peace, there would be an ordinary revenue of six millions of livres; and, even though the taxes should, after four or five years, be reduced, as they ought to be, supposing two parts in five, which would be a considerable reduction and a great ease to the inhabitants, yet still there would remain about three millions eight hundred thousand livres, a sum that would be fully sufficient for defraying all the necessary expences of a peace establishment. In this computation were not included the great revenues of some of the towns, part of which, in case of necessity, might be applied to the public service; for, though one half should be employed for the benefit of the towns themselves, the other half would amount to more than a million of livres. The tax on consumption, and the subsidy raised from houses and lands, were calculated, the former at five millions five hundred thousand livres, though equal to six millions; and the latter at two, though equal to three millions; because the overplus of each year was applied, both in the provinces and towns, to the payment of their debts. The full revenue of six millions, as above stated, would maintain twenty thousand men in garrison, if there was occasion for so many, for the first year; pay the salaries of the servants of the State, the expence of the fortifications, and of an armament at sea, the next; and, in following years, this fund would increase, because the garrisons might be reduced

duced to ten thousand men, by which means there would be a saving, each year, of two millions of livres, that might be employed likewise in payment of debt. Intestine divisions might be prevented by proper attention, and by establishing a Council of State invested with sufficient authority. The body of the State, which was, in fact, a Republic, where the sovereignty was equally diffused among all the members, had, nevertheless, this advantage, that the common people did not interfere in the affairs of Government. These were left entirely to the management of the chief men in every town; who, being not only capable of exercising the administration, but zealous for the preservation of liberty, would easily secure a strict observance of such regulations as should be judged necessary for the public safety. Neither was corruption much to be feared among a people who had hitherto showed such a desire for liberty, and such a hatred to the Spaniards, from whom alone any attempts of this kind were to be apprehended. There was little probability, that the masters of ships and sailors would engage in the service of Spain; because the trade to the East Indies, without which being allowed no treaty would be made, and the trade to Spain and other places, would give them sufficient employment. Besides, a free people, impatient of controul, would never bear the pride and insolence of the Spaniards, nor submit to live in a country where their natural disposition would be thwarted, and where they could not enjoy the exercise of their religion. To these arguments the advocates for peace added others, deduced from the probable consequences of continuing the war. Thus, it was argued, that an end could not be put to the calamities already suffered, but either by a complete victory, or some agreement made at last with the enemy. The former could not reasonably

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bly be expected over so powerful an adversary ; and the latter would, at any time, be attended not only with the same dangers which were dreaded at present, but with greater, because the continuance of the war would oblige the Confederates to contract more debt, and, by reducing them to straits, expose them to be corrupted ; cause them to separate from one another ; and induce them to accept of worse terms than they had now in their power to obtain *.

The Confederates complain of affected delays.
June 18.

THERE was so little prospect of any thing decisive being soon concluded, notwithstanding the many conferences which were held, that Jeannin went to Paris, to consult with his Majesty, and receive particular directions for his future conduct. The Confederates were so offended with the affected delays of the Spaniards, and their obstinacy in insisting for the sovereignty over such places as were allowed to belong to the jurisdiction of the United Provinces, that they declared to the Arch Dukes, they expected a positive answer on this point, in a short time, otherwise all farther treaty would be discontinued. The Commissioners next talked of the dismissing all foreign soldiers ; the privileges of towns and colleges ; the limits, and some other articles ; but without any agreement ; the Arch Dukes Deputies declaring, that they waited farther instructions being brought them by Ney, who had not yet returned. In the mean time the Confederates were alarmed with reports that the Arch Duke's Ambassador at the Court of France had told Henry, it was never his Catholic Majesty's intention absolutely to renounce the sovereignty of the United Provinces, but that he had done

* Escrit fait en Hollande, et envoye au Roy (Henry) le 10 May 1608, en Negotiations de Jeannin, tom. 1. 717—735.

done so only in appearance, with a view to induce the Confederates to enter into a negotiation, while he prepared to force them to a submission; that though he agreed to suspend, for a time, his right, yet he would make no peace with them, but on the express condition of their abstaining altogether from the trade to the East Indies, and restoring the Catholic religion*. This intelligence made the General Estates the more resolute to break off the conferences in the end of July. The Arch Dukes Commissioners made apology for the delay, which they said was unavoidable; and begged that the time for the conferences might be prolonged for other six weeks. With difficulty the General Estates consented. But the Danish Ambassador, wearied out with so tedious a negotiation, could not be prevailed upon to stay any longer; and went home in the firm persuasion that nothing would be done†.

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August.

JEANNIN returned from France the fourteenth of August, fully instructed how to act, according to the views of the different parties. It appears, that Henry was sincere in his professions of regard for the Confederates, though he was, at the same time, so very desirous of an accommodation, that he wished them to make some important concessions. In the instructions, which were drawn up in reply

Jeannin returns from France with farther instructions, August 14.

* Jeannin.—Winwood's Memorials, vol. 2. p. 427. "I observed," says Cornwallis in a letter to the Lords of the Council, "that the Constable, at mine allegation, that the King acknowledged the Estates a free people, smiled, and said plainly, that it pleased me to make myself merry with them; that the King hath done no such thing; and that it is a mockery either to speak it or think it." Letter of 6th August. Ibid. p. 425.

† Meursius, p. 307. Grotius, p. 542. Haræus.

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reply to several questions put by Jeannin, founded on the present state of the negotiation, Henry declared, that he preferred a peace even to a long truce, and either of them to renewing the war. In order to prevent the cessation of hostilities being prolonged for one or two years more, which he considered as the most disadvantageous measure, Jeannin was directed to inform the General Estates, that, in this event, he would give them no supplies of money. Henry was of opinion, that the Confederates should renounce the trade to the Indies, and even agree to the demands of the Spaniards, in other articles, rather than break off the treaty, provided they held the sovereignty, and the places which they at present possessed. Even with regard to religion, Jeannin was ordered to make the strongest remonstrances in favour of the Catholics; and if the Spaniards insisted, that the Catholic religion should be restored, to advise the General Estates to consent. On the other hand, Henry did not propose that they should agree to any alteration in the acknowledgment already made of their being free States; but, if all hopes of a peace vanished, his Ambassadors were authorised to assure the General Estates, that he would continue to afford them his assistance, and even to make this declaration without any mention of the King of England. These assurances, however, were to be given only on condition that the treaty was broke off with his advice. So anxious was he to procure peace, that he was willing to employ money to be distributed privately, in gaining over friends; and actually gave a commission to Jeannin to promise, in the event of peace, or a long truce taking place, to Prince Maurice, ten thousand livres a-year; to Count William and Barnevelt, four thousand livres; and to all other persons he should think might

might be of service, such a gratification as he judged proper †.

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WHAT happened in the conferences immediately after Jeannin's arrival, showed that a peace could not be expected. Richardot plainly told the French Ambassadors, that Philip would agree to renounce the sovereignty of the United Provinces only on two conditions; the one, that the exercise of the Catholic religion should be re-established in all the Provinces, without any restriction; the other, that the Confederates should abstain entirely from the trade to the Indies. In vain did they represent to him that these demands were an evident proof the Spaniards wished the treaty at an end, as it was not to be supposed they would obtain either of these terms without some limitation. The other Commissioners of the Arch Dukes, after taking occasion, in a meeting of the General Estates, to contradict the reports of Philip not being willing, on any account, to allow the sovereignty of the United Provinces; and after declaring that he was ready to ratify the acknowledgment he had already made to this purpose, in any form they pleased, greatly extolled this mark of his condescension, which he granted without requiring from them any vassalage, money, or towns, in return, but only, that by the subsequent treaty, they would renounce the trade to the Indies, and re-establish the Catholic religion.

No hopes of
a peace.
Aug. 20.

WHEN the French and English Ambassadors consulted together what advice to give upon so clear an intimation of Philip's designs, they were of different opinions as to the article concerning religion.

† Seconde Instruction; articles proposez pour le renvoy en Hollande du Sieur Jeannin; et la declaration de la volenté du Roy sur lesdits articles; en Negotiations de Jeannin.

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religion. The English thought, that the General Estates should not agree to it; but the French insisted, that his Christian Majesty was bound in conscience to advise them to give some indulgence to the Catholics, as the only means of preserving union; and said, that they were expressly instructed for this purpose, though they had hitherto delayed to make any remonstrance on this point, through fear of interrupting the treaty; but that now, they would be obliged to fulfil his Majesty's commands. As to the trade to the Indies, the French Ambassadors proposed, that the Confederates should renounce it altogether, if nothing better could be procured. The English agreed likewise to give them this advice. But, when the Ambassadors made their report, they were told, that the General Estates would never agree to establish, by treaty, the Catholic religion; because to do so, upon the demand of their enemies, would be inconsistent with the sovereignty already granted, and afford the King of Spain, by his influence with the Catholics, an opportunity to raise factions, which he might employ to the prejudice of their liberties. The French Ambassadors, however, were assured, that as the Confederates lay under great obligations to his Christian Majesty, they would endeavour to give him all the satisfaction, which the safety and constitution of their State would allow; but that nothing of this kind could be attempted at present. The General Estates were informed, that Richardot had said, this point would never be yielded; because, in the instructions to the Commissioners, it was the article with which they were ordered to begin; and, though the article concerning the sovereignty was first settled, in hopes that the other would be the more readily granted, they could not possibly relinquish it, application having been
been

been made to Philip to be less obstinate, but in vain.

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THIS account raised an universal murmur in the Assembly. The Spaniards were accused of having a design to deceive by a feigned treaty, as Philip's intentions had been known for a long time, while the Commissioners pretended, that no demands would be made contrary to the independence and sovereignty which he had already allowed. So violent was the resentment against this manner of proceeding, and so determined were the General Estates to make no concessions in matters of religion, that they refused to hold any farther conferences, and pronounced the treaty to be at an end. A resolution to this purpose was accordingly framed, in which the reasons were assigned, and an account given of the whole progress of the negotiation. Even during the life of Philip II. said they, all proposals of peace were prejudicial, and deceitful on the part of the Spaniards; for which reason the Confederates, for more than twenty-five years, would not hearken to them, though the Emperor, and other Princes of Europe, interposed their good offices. They were convinced, that an honourable and certain peace could not be expected with an enemy, who aimed at destroying all their just rights and privileges. They lamented the calamities of war, which ought to be imputed to those who wished to oppress them, contrary to all laws human and divine. The Arch Dukes promised that the liberty of the United Provinces should remain unviolated, and that they should retain what they at that time possessed; but, notwithstanding, afterwards obstinately insisted on their renouncing altogether their trade to the Indies. Various artifices were used to impose upon them, and delays affected in order to promote
finister

The Confederates declare the treaty to be ended.

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sinister intentions. They were determined, therefore, to be no longer deceived. They had acted fairly, and were sincerely disposed to peace. But now it appeared, that their safety depended upon their arms. This step gave great uneasiness to the Spanish Commissioners, who had still entertained some hopes that the States Deputies would make concessions.

Scheme for
a truce.
Aug. 27.

THE resolution of the General Estates, to reject a peace on the conditions required by the Spanish Commissioners, suggested the other alternative of a long truce. Jeannin, who was instructed by Henry to persuade the parties to this measure, in case a peace could not be made, first enquired at the English Ambassadors what support their master would afford to the Confederates, in the event of a war; and was told that they had no particular directions on this subject. He mentioned the scheme of a truce, and desired that they should jointly lay it before the General Estates, and thus exhibit a public testimony of the uprightness of the intentions of both Princes, and their sincere desire of putting an end to the war. The English Ambassadors approved; as likewise the German Ambassadors, to whom the proposal was also communicated*.

Is proposed
to the General
Estates.

AN audience was obtained, and Jeannin, in name of all the Ambassadors, made a formal representation to the General Estates. He told the Assembly, that as all endeavours to procure a peace, had, to their great regret, failed of success, they recommended a truce for a long period, as much more desirable than the renewing of the war, and as the only means left of obtaining terms highly advantageous.

* Grotius, p. 542. Meursius, p. 308. Baudius. Van den Sande. Bentivoglio.

advantageous. Without the prospect, he said, of their having it thus in their power to procure such conditions, their Majesties would not give them this advice. He proposed, that a truce should be made with them as *free* States, that during the truce, their trade to the Indies, Spain, and every where else, should be free; and that they should retain whatever they possessed at present. To these the General Estates might add likewise any other terms they thought reasonable to demand. To induce them to accept of a truce, he argued, that if their enemies should decline it, the Confederates would be justified to all the world in having recourse again to arms; the well meant designs of their friends would be better known; and more reasons would be afforded for employing force, and giving every assistance for their defence. He insinuated, that they should the more readily agree, as both Henry and James would consent to be bound to preserve the truce, in the very same manner as they were already obliged in the case of a peace. During the truce, they might regulate their internal affairs, and pay off their debt; by continuing united, they might enjoy all the advantages they expected from a peace; and the truce would probably be converted into a lasting agreement. Whereas, by entering again upon a war, they would find many difficulties, and be exposed to many inconveniencies and dangers; and to be successful, or even to stand upon the defensive only, they would require larger succours than their allies would readily grant. He concluded with saying, that he would give the same advice to the Arch Dukes Commissioners, and if they refused to follow it, would plainly declare to them, that both Princes would do every thing for the support of the Confederates, which the duty of true friends and faithful allies required.

WHEN

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WHEN the proposal was taken into consideration by the two parties, it appeared that the Arch Dukes Commissioners would agree to a simple truce only, for eight, ten, or twelve years, as a continuation of the present cessation of hostilities, without repeating the declaration of the independence of the General Estates. The States Deputies, on the other hand, agreed to the terms proposed; and required, that the declaration should be repeated, and extend to an acknowledgment of their independence, not only during the truce, but for ever. The dispute was so keenly maintained, that the Spanish Commissioners begged time to consider this point, and craved a delay until the end of September, when the Arch Dukes, who had sent a messenger to Spain, would know his Majesty's sentiments.

Debates on
this propo-
sal.

THIS request caused violent debates in the Assembly of the General Estates, and which lasted two days. Many thought, that an end should be immediately put to all farther conferences, as such a demand was another proof of the artifices of the Spaniards. Maurice, particularly, not only supported this opinion with great heat and passion, but represented a truce as ruinous to the State, because it would be no sooner made than Henry and Philip would enter into close friendship, and strengthen their alliance with the projected marriages. He asserted, that the only method to hinder a conjunction, which would prove destructive to those of the Reformed religion, would be to break off the treaty, and renew the war, in which Henry would be obliged, in honour, to support them, and, in order to prevent an encrease of the Spanish power, to give them effectual assistance. Though his arguments did not prevail, and a majority of the Assembly agreed to grant the delay
that

that was asked, yet the Deputies of the Province of Zealand were so offended with this resolution, that they declared they could not join in any conference or deliberation, as long as the Spanish Commissioners remained at the Hague; actually left the Assembly; and returned to their own Province. In Holland, there were different sentiments, occasioned, in a great measure, by the influence of Maurice; and though the bulk of the people were inclined to the truce, yet they demanded, that the sovereignty of the States should be acknowledged to be perpetual. It was indeed to be expected, that after all hopes of peace had vanished, the Confederates would not readily hearken to a long truce, because it was probable that the same conditions which they had rejected in the one case would be required in the other. The advice of their allies, however, had great weight with the Confederates. They considered that they could not carry on the war without aid. They were afraid that the common people would be irritated when they knew what terms had been rejected, and refuse to contribute the necessary sums. They startled at the prospect of having again recourse to arms, the expence of which had, of late, exceeded the amount of the contributions, three hundred thousand florins a-month, loaded the common fund with a debt of nine millions of florins, and the particular Provinces with the double of that sum *.

THE General Estates acted with great firmness and resolution. They told the Spanish Commissioners, That, though it would be more agreeable they would retire to Brussels, and there wait the answer

Resolution
of the Ge-
neral Es-
tates,

* Grotius, p. 542—544. Baudius, lib. 2. p. 182—190. Bentivoglio. Jeannin.

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answer from his Catholic Majesty, yet, at the request of the Ambassadors, they consented to their remaining at the Hague, until the end of September; but that if, against that time, they produced not a proper instrument from Philip and the Arch Dukes, acknowledging their independence, in the most express terms, and for ever, they must depart. This declaration was accompanied with a spirited remonstrance on their conduct. “You have endeavoured,” said the General Estates, “to amuse us with specious promises. “You have, in order to lead us into a treaty, “talked of making peace; but you had no such “intention. The peace you have converted into “a truce; next, you have changed this truce into “to a mere lengthening out the present cessation “of hostilities, without any mention of our independence, which we absolutely require. Think “not that we will be any longer deceived. Do “not imagine that we want either discernment to “discover your artifices, or courage to resume “these arms which we unwillingly employed at “first, but which we never will lay aside, until “the glorious end we have in view is accomplished.”

The Spanish commissioners leave the Hague, 30th September.

WHEN the last day of September was come, the Spanish Commissioners waited on the Ambassadors, and informed them that they had received instructions from Albert and Isabella, by which they were impowered to make a truce for seven years, in Europe, both parties to retain what they at present possessed; and to give a declaration, that the Arch Dukes, in treating with the General Estates, acknowledged the United Provinces as free States to which they claimed no right. They added, that though they had got no particular

particular orders from Philip, they hoped that he would approve of the truce on these conditions. The Ambassadors, knowing that the General Estates were determined not to consent, unless the declaration bore an acknowledgment of their independence being perpetual, advised the Spanish Commissioners to retire to Brussels; to prevail with the Arch Dukes to make the time of the truce ten, instead of seven years; and to give the acknowledgment demanded. Accordingly, they prepared for their departure; and, after waiting upon Maurice and the States Commissioners, had an audience of leave in the General Estates. Richardot extolled the conduct of his Catholic Majesty and the Arch Dukes, in being willing to make many important concessions for the sake of peace; condemned the States for their obstinacy; and upbraided them with the dishonourable manner in which the Spanish Commissioners were desired to leave their territories. He told them, that he foresaw the day was coming when they would repent their not having suitably improved the present favourable opportunity; and protested, that they would be chargeable with all the blood which might be afterwards spilled. Barnevelt, in name of the General Estates, answered him, that they had acted with candour and sincerity; that they had always declared, they would admit of no treaty without an acknowledgment of their independence; that the blame of peace not being concluded should be laid upon those who had not fulfilled their promises; and that whatever blood might be shed, the guilt ought to be imputed to persons who, by imposing laws worse than death, had made recourse to arms absolutely necessary. The Spanish Commissioners, after the Assembly dismissed,

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BOOK V. dismissed, were entertained at dinner by Maurice,
 1608. and the same day set out for Brussels †.

Return of a
 fleet from
 the Indies.

Malacca.

THE success that hitherto attended the various expeditions to the East Indies, undertaken by the Confederates, contributed greatly to render them averse to relinquish advantages which they already derived from a trade to these countries. During the deliberations concerning the truce, part of Matelief's fleet that had left the Netherlands three years before, arrived with accounts as favourable as could be wished. These vessels anchored in the island of Maurice, in January 1606, and sailed, in a few days after, for Malacca, of which the Admiral was ordered to take possession, if possible. They came before the town, in the end of April; and the Admiral immediately dispatched his boat to assure the King of Johor, of whose dominions Malacca was once a part, that no harm should be done to his subjects, and to beg his assistance. On the 5th of May, two pirogues, belonging to the King of Johor, joined the fleet. The Sabandar of Sincapura came aboard, and told the Admiral, that the enemy's fleet from Goa, commanded by the Viceroy himself, was daily expected; but that the King of Johor would, in eight days, send thirty galleys and twenty fusts. This intelligence was followed by a letter from the King himself, containing the like assurances, and, soon after, by the arrival of Raia Bonfu, or Zabrang, who had formerly been sent Ambassador to Holland with presents to Maurice. He was one of the four sons of the late King of Johor. The eldest, called Jan Patuan, succeeded his father; the second was King of Siaca, a place

† Baudius, lib. 2. p. 210, 211, & 212. Grotius, p. 546. Meursius, 310.

a place dependent on the Crown of Johor; Bonfu was the third, who had under his government the other side of the river, opposite to the town of Batufabar, or Batafawer, where there was a fort; and the fourth son, named Raia Laud, got the command at sea. Bonfu was a man of talents and activity. His three brothers were very inferior to him in capacity, and spent all their time in drinking, or in the company of their women. When the Admiral talked to Bonfu concerning the siege, and desired to know what support he might have, the only answer he received was, that his brother was a poor Prince, but would do all in his power; and that he did not know precisely what assistance he would give. In a conference concerning the plan for jointly carrying on the enterprise against Malacca, and the advantages to accrue to the Flemings, in case it should prove successful, Bonfu discovered both much penetration and firmness. Matelief demanded, that the town should be delivered up to him, for the purpose of establishing there a factory for trade; and proposed that he should put a garrison into it, leaving the country to the King, for defence of which, as well as of the town, they would assist each other against all enemies whatever, and act offensively against the Portuguese and Spaniards. Bonfu, in reply, told Matelief, that if he should keep possession of the town, it would be of little consequence to be delivered from the Portuguese. He ventured to pronounce such a demand unbecoming those who professed their chief view was to support him against his enemies; and said, that the Flemings might, in time, be as bad neighbours as the Portuguese. When the Admiral asked, What profit the Flemings would reap from the war? he answered, That they should be allowed a place for building a warehouse, and that

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all their goods should be exempted from the payment of duties. Bonfu, at last, consented that the town should remain in the possession of the Admiral, provided he would grant one favour; and, taking Matelief aside, proposed that the Flemings should go along with him, and chase the King of Achin out of the island. Matelief was surpris'd with this request, and assured Bonfu that he could not engage in such a design, consistently with justice and honour, as the King of Achin was in alliance with the Flemings; but that, if the King should discover any hostile intentions, and all endeavours to dispose him to peace should prove ineffectual, the Flemings would oppose him to the utmost of their power. After many conferences, a treaty was concluded between Matelief, in name of the General Estates, on the one part, and the King of Johor and Bonfu on the other. It was stipulated, that both should employ all their force to take Malacca; that, when taken, it should be the property of the General Estates; that all the country round should be under the dominion of the King, but that the General Estates, or their Governor in the town, if they saw it proper to extend the fortifications, might have as much ground as would be necessary for this purpose; that the General Estates might take, throughout all the King's dominions, as much wood as they might want, either for the town, or for building vessels; that all the vessels belonging to the General Estates, or such as they should freight, from whatever place they came, might unload their goods in the town, without being subject to any duties; that the King should not allow any Europeans, or even Flemings, to trade in his dominions, without their having first obtained permission from the Governor of Malacca, that one half of the cannon and merchandise, found in the

the

the town, should belong to the General Estates, and the other half to the King; that the King should be at liberty to rebuild such of the suburbs as might be demolished, fortify them, take up his residence there if he pleased, and govern the inhabitants as he thought fit, without the Flemings interfering; that they should assist each other in any enterprise either party should undertake against the Portuguese and Spaniards; and neither of them make peace with the King of Spain without the consent of the other.

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AFTER this treaty was concluded, and the Admiral had delivered the presents intended for the King of Johor, preparations were made for the descent. Next day eight hundred men were landed. Four hundred Portuguese, who had been posted on the shore, fled at their approach, and took shelter in the suburbs, which the Flemings found to be surrounded with a kind of wall composed of earth and stones, and not with palisades, as had been reported; soon after set them on fire; and retired into the town. The Admiral after reconnoitring the town, began to despair of success. It would be necessary to pass a considerable river; the walls were strong, and flanked with turrets; and of the eight hundred men already landed, one hundred and fifty were obliged to be sent on board of the ships, on account of their being either sick or wounded. He erected, however, a battery, with a design to dismount those of the enemy, and to beat down the houses. Jan Patuan, King of Johor, arriving with his gallies and two thousand men; approved of all that his brother had done in his name; and took his station on the north of the town. Bonfu placed himself near the Admiral, without the gate. Matelief received very little support from either. The

BOOK V. Malais would not observe any order, and as often as the Portuguese appeared, ran away from their posts. Thinking to oblige the King to make his men more active, he sent back to the ships three hundred of his troops, and the cannon which he had planted upon the battery. The King remonstrated strongly against this proceeding; but was answered, that the Flemings were fatigued, and that the Malais, in their turn, should keep guard.

A sea fight.

THE only course which promised any success was to reduce the town by famine. With this view, the Admiral blocked up all the passages, to prevent the inhabitants from coming out to get any provisions. When the sailors were almost worn out with labour, and much afflicted with a flux, occasioned by eating too great quantities of fruit, two Flemish vessels, the *United Provinces*, and the *Erasmus*, joined the Fleet, and revived their spirits. But accounts being received, by one of the ships sent out to cruise, of the Armada appearing, stopped the further operations of the siege, and made the Admiral put all his men and cannon aboard his ships, that he might be ready to meet the enemy. Scarcely were they embarked when the Portuguese fleet advanced, expecting to find them unprepared. It consisted of sixteen great galleons, four gallies, thirteen or fourteen fusts, and one caravalle. There were on board three thousand seven hundred and fifty four whites, and double that number of blacks, or Indian sailors. This fleet was designed to take possession of Achin, then of Malacca, Johor, Patana, Bantam, and Amboina. It had already been at Achin, and Don Martin D'Alphonso de Castro, the Viceroy, told the King, that he was come to punish him for the favour which he had shown the Flemings.

But

But he was unable to execute these threatenings, and forced to retire with the loss of three hundred of his men. One of the Portuguese vessels attacked the *Nassau* before she had got up her anchors; and the *Orange* and *Middleburg* having come to her assistance, the Portuguese Vice-Admiral assaulted the latter, and a large galleon the former. The *Maurice*, in the mean time, fortunately set the galleon on fire, and got clear off; but the *Middleburg* and the Spanish Vice-Admiral's ship being entangled with her, all three were burnt. The greater part of the crew of the *Middleburg* was saved. The *Nassau* shared the same fate. Thus both parties lost two of their ships. The Flemings had only twenty-four men killed*; the Portuguese, from three to five hundred; among whom was Alvaro de Carvalho, the Vice-Admiral. The weather for some days prevented the two fleets from getting near one another. The Portuguese, at last, took up their anchors in the night-time, and made directly for Malacca; and the Flemings, sensible of their inferiority, sailed for Johor, where they arrived the thirteenth of September.

As the enterprise against Malacca had thus failed, a second treaty was made with the King of Johor, by which the Flemings were allowed to pitch upon any place in his dominions, where they might build houses and reside. Matelief, having afterwards received information that seven Portuguese ships had taken their route northward, either to return to Achin, or to escort a vessel they expected from Coromandel or St. Thomas, resolved to make again for Malacca. When he came there, the eighteenth of October, he found, lying in the Road, seven Portuguese ships, six large and one small.

* Grotius says, only eight.

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small. Three of the Flemish ships falling upon the *St. Nicholas* belonging to the enemy, took her, though not until after a long combat. The Flemish Vice-Admiral was attacked by two of the Portuguese fleet; but the *Black Lion* and the *Maurice* came seasonably to his assistance, and set one of them on fire. A third surrendered. Such was the success of the first day's engagement, in which, as was afterwards learned by a letter from the Viceroy that was intercepted, six principal officers among the Portuguese were killed, and five hundred and twenty-one white soldiers. Next day, the Admiral bore down upon one of the Portuguese ships. She soon yielded. There were only twenty men on board; forty-five had been killed and thrown into the sea. She had fourteen brass and two iron cannon, with a large quantity of powder, some wine, and fish. The Flemings had hitherto suffered very little loss. But, four boats, armed with seventy-five men, sent against the crew of the *Santa Cruz*, which was on fire, were blown up along with that ship, and all miserably perished. The remaining three ships of the Portuguese fleet were drawn close by the shore; and such was the terror of the crew, when they observed Matelief advancing, that they set fire to them with their own hands. The gallies which were taken were so much damaged, that they could be of no farther service, and were therefore burned. The Admiral, encouraged by this success, sailed in quest of the rest of the Portuguese fleet; and, on the first of December, came in sight of seven large, and three smaller ships, lying at anchor, between two isles to the north of the island of Pulo Boton. They were so advantageously situated, that Matelief, after making several attempts, was convinced that it was not in his power to attack them with any advantage. It was, therefore,

fore, determined to leave the coast; and that the Admiral, with part of the fleet, should sail for the Moluccas; that the other ships should go to Achin, where they should endeavour to make a treaty with the King, similar to that with the King of Johor; one of them to take in a cargo, and from thence to return home; that the rest in this division should make for the coast of Coromandel; and if they there found a cargo, likewise to return home; but if not, to go to Bantam.

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THE six ships destined for the Moluccas stopped at Amboina, where they found Houtman, the Governor of the Flemish fort, who told them that every thing had remained quiet; and also Envoys from Ternate come to crave assistance against the Spaniards, who had taken possession of that island. They begged the Admiral to hasten to the relief of the inhabitants. He agreed, on condition that the King of Ternate furnished two thousand effective men for attacking the enemy.

THE Admiral left Amboina the third of May 1607, took his route for Ternate, and arrived there on the fourteenth of the same month. His design was to expel the Spaniards from that island, and to erect a fort in Tidor. Learning that the King of Ternate could give him little or no assistance, he went to Tidor, and cast anchor before the town, situated on the east coast of the island. He intended to wait here until he got farther accounts from the King of Ternate. The King arrived on the seventeenth, with some pirogues. Matelief asked him and his Council, If, in case Tidor was taken, they could keep it with two ships of the fleet, which should be left with them for that purpose? They said, that their force was
much

BOOK V. ^{1608.} much diminished, many of their soldiers being dead, and others disbanded; that if the King staid at Tidor, he would not be able to assemble his subjects, and make them come there; but if a fort was erected at Ternate, and two vessels left, they could engage to maintain it against all their enemies both in Ternate and Tidor. Matelief returned again to Ternate, and having gone ashore with twelve of his men, took three Chinese who had come out of the fort. They told him, that there were in Ternate two hundred Spaniards; and in Tidor, one hundred Spaniards, twenty Portuguese, fifty Chinese, and some slaves. He immediately began to build a fort, but in vain endeavoured to make the natives keep any order or discipline. By this means the work advanced very slowly. The fort was at last finished; a captain, with forty-five men, were appointed as a garrison, and two of the ships † stationed on the coast for their protection.

China.

THE Admiral, with the four other vessels, departed on the twelfth of June 1607, for China; and after passing some time at Lamao, an island on that coast, but where the Mandarin would not allow him to carry on any trade with the natives, entered the river of Canton the twenty-eighth of August. Finding that he was unable to engage with the Portuguese, who had, at that time, a strong fleet at Macao; and that it was very uncertain if liberty to trade would be permitted, he resolved to return to Patana and Bantam, that the several vessels might complete their cargoes, and be ready to sail for the Netherlands by the beginning of next year. This plan was accordingly put in execution,

† Grotius says, four.

tion, and they arrived at home, in the month of September, richly laden *.

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THE critical situation of affairs in the Netherlands naturally engaged the attention of all ranks; while different sentiments were formed concerning the several articles which had been debated by the Commissioners on both sides, and the propriety of making a truce now, when the hopes of peace were disappointed. Men of genius and abilities employed their pens on this occasion. A book was published with the title of *Mare Liberum*, in which an attempt was made to prove from reason, from examples, from the law of nations, and the authority even of the most able lawyers in Spain, that a free trade to the Indies could not justly be denied the Confederates. The author's name was not affixed; but it was afterwards known to be the work of the famous Hugo Grotius. Baudius, a Professor in the University of Leyden, likewise published two discourses, one under the name of *Latinus Pacatus*, the other under the name of *Julianus Rosbecius*, both in favour of the truce †.

Books published for, and against the truce.

MANY anonymous writings were dispersed in support of the other side of the question. The truce, it was prophesied, would be productive of sedition and slavery; and to represent how dangerous it would be to enter into any treaty with the Spaniards, it was observed, that none of the nobility, nor natives of the country, but Spaniards, Italians,

* Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi, &c. tom. 5. p. 251—437. et tom. 6. p. 1.—315. Grotius, lib. 17. p. 555—562. Pontanus, lib. 2. cap. 26. Purchas Pilgrimage, book 5. ch. 3. sect. 4.

† The former is inserted in the history he wrote of the truce, p. 119—150; and both are annexed to the edition of his letters, printed at Amsterdam, in 12mo. p. 622—652.

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Italians, and the most cunning and treacherous of all men, Monks, were appointed Commissioners. Exaggerated descriptions were given of the cruelties exercised by the Spaniards in America, Granada, Arragon and the Netherlands. Books were quoted which taught, that all agreements between princes and people, or which contained any articles prejudicial to the Catholic religion, ought not to be observed. The letters of Justus Lipsius, written long ago, were reprinted; and as he was thought to be a man of great penetration, but strongly attached to the Spaniards, it was said, that his having advised them to make a truce with the United Provinces, which would afford time for the one party to recover their strength, while the resentment of the other would cool, was a strong proof that it would be dangerous to the Confederates. The General Estates endeavoured to suppress these writings by an edict; but in vain. Among a free people they could not be altogether prevented; and the Estates themselves considered that too strict an enquiry, or too rigorous a punishment, was inconsistent with the liberty of their constitution*.

The truce
opposed by
Maurice.

BUT the most dangerous, because the most powerful opponent of the truce, was Prince Maurice. He openly maintained, that a truce, on any conditions whatever, would prove pernicious to the States, and would have the effect of reducing the Confederates to entire submission to Philip. In support of this opinion, he urged a variety of reasons; such as, that, at the end of the truce, they would not probably have the same allies to assist them as at present; that the King of Spain would be in a better condition for renewing the war; that the

* Grotius, lib. 17. p. 542. et 545.

the people, once accustomed to peace, would rather submit than again take up arms; that, during the truce, they would not contribute sufficiently for the maintenance of the necessary garrisons; that the inhabitants of the Provinces of Gueldres, Friseland, Overijssel, Groninghen, and Utrecht, were for the most part, Catholics, and having been in a manner, forced into the union, must be retained in it by fear; and that the divisions already begun would be encreased by the secret practices of their enemies. Not satisfied with urging these arguments, with great vehemence, in the Assembly of the States General, he wrote a letter to Henry, in which they were repeated, with an earnest desire that he would instruct his Ambassadors to prevent, if possible, the truce being made; and, in a conference with the Ambassadors, he scrupled not to declare, that unless the same articles, intended for the treaty of peace, were likewise granted in the truce, he would make himself a party in the cause, with some of the best towns in Holland, the Province of Zealand, and the soldiery, who were entirely at his command *. While the States of the several Provinces were deliberating what opinion to give, he wrote a letter to the towns in Holland, exhorting the inhabitants to imitate the fortitude of their forefathers, who resolutely rejected all proposals of peace made by such insidious enemies as the Spaniards; to admit of no conditions, unless the Spaniards were absolutely debarred, not only from any share in the Government, but even from the very pretensions of any right of this kind; to bind their deputies in the General Estates, never to consent to the least alteration in the acknowledgment of their independence; and to consult with him

* Jeannin Negot. tom. 1. Lettre au Mr. de Villeroy, 1 Octobre. Birch's Negotiations, p. 286. Baudius.

BOOK V. him as they used to do with their Governor, and particularly, with his father, concerning the important affairs of State. This letter was considered by different persons, in different lights; and some, who were members of the General Estates, were highly offended, because they viewed it as implying an insinuation, that they had been unfaithful to the public in the execution of their trust*.

Jeannin
replies to
the objec-
tions against
a truce.

So formidable did the opposition to the truce appear, that Jennin thought it his duty to answer, by a particular writing, the several objections contained in the Prince's letter and other publications; and addressed it in the form of a memorial, and in name of all the other Ambassadors, to the General Estates. In reply to the objection, that the independence of the Confederates was not acknowledged to be perpetual, either in the first declaration or that now proposed, it was observed, that not being limited to the time of the truce, but allowed in general terms, the declaration was as effectual as if the words *for ever* were expressly inserted; that it was not from the concession of the Princes with whom they treated they were to derive their liberty; that they had always asserted they were free, in consequence of a public and solemn decree of their own, founded on the best reasons; and therefore, if they should demand from Philip and the Arch Dukes any thing more than a simple declaration of their being free, they would seem to admit that, until now, they were rebels, and that their liberty did not commence until the required concession was granted. Besides, they ought to consider that Sovereigns were only administrators of their kingdoms, and could not

† Grotius. Meursius. Jeannin. This letter, dated the 21st September, is inserted in Pise, Tableau de l'Histoire des Princes d'Orange, p. 739—742.

not alienate any of their rights to the prejudice of ^{BOOK V.}
their successors; and, therefore, they who forced ^{1608,}
them at any time to renounce part of these rights,
ought to be fully prepared for defending acquisitions
gained in this manner; at least, for so long
a space as immemorial possession, or the weakness
of the other party should secure them in the enjoy-
ment of what they had thus procured. It was
asked, If, in the words proposed, there was con-
tained a sufficient assurance of their liberty, why
did the Arch Dukes refuse to give the explanation
required? But it should be remembered, that they
were not bound to do more; that this was all
they had promised in the name of his Catholic
Majesty; and that they had obtained it with the
utmost difficulty, the Spanish Council being more
inclined to break off all treaty than to agree to the
conditions demanded. But, after all, the fortune
of war, not any words in a treaty, however ex-
plicit, would determine this difference. It was
said, Philip would have time to recruit his finances.
But it seldom happened, that a king, so young,
was disposed to hoard up money; probably he
would find other means of spending it; and, as
his people were restless and turbulent, they would
not continue long at peace, but raise up to them-
selves some other enemies. The United Pro-
vinces, on the contrary, not anxious to extend
their power, and solicitous to preserve their liber-
ty, would live in friendship with their neighbours;
and, freed from the expences of war, would pay
off their debts, and amass a revenue large enough
to answer any future exigence. As to the divi-
sions, corruption, and indolence, which, some
apprehended, would be the consequence of a
truce, it was unreasonable to insist, that, in order
to avoid these, they should be always at war;
whereas, the prospect of being obliged to employ
arms

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arms when the truce should be expired, would naturally have the effect of keeping them united, and of making them vigilant, willing to contribute what was necessary for their safety, and jealous of those, who, one day, might be their enemies. Their very constitution of government was a check to corruption; and the love of liberty, with which all the people were inspired, would be a guard to the fidelity of their rulers. Corruption was more to be feared in time of war; especially, if any misfortune happened, and the people should be dissatisfied with their Governors for refusing to accept of a peace. The advice of Lipsius to the Spaniards could have no weight, when it was considered, that he speaks of a short truce only; that there was no mention, at the time he wrote, of an acknowledgment of the independence of the United Provinces; that he could not foresee their arms would have been attended with such success, or that two powerful Princes would engage to be guarantees. The examples of the Province of Holland, and of the Switzers, were a proof of the advantages arising, in some cases, from a cessation of hostilities. Though the pacification of Ghent, in the year 1576, was very loose and unguarded; yet Holland, by having leisure, for five or six years, to establish some form of government, and pay off debt, was afterwards in a condition to support the great expence of the war, which fell chiefly upon that Province after Flanders and Brabant were subdued. The Swiss, after a struggle similar to that of the Confederates, accepted of a truce on less favourable conditions than those now offered to the General Estates; during which, they put their affairs in so good order, that they never had occasion again to have recourse to arms; but found, to their great benefit,

benefit, that a truce, after a long war, generally introduced a lasting peace *.

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DURING the heat of these contests, a discovery was made which caused various speculations. A servant in the inn where Richardot lodged at the Hague, found lying below the table of the chamber he had occupied, the original instructions given him by the Arch Dukes, a remonstrance intended to be made in favour of the Catholics, and a plan of a truce. It was uncertain whether these papers had been stolen, or whether they had been left by Richardot through design, or negligence †. The servant showed them to Count John, who happened to come into the house immediately after the President was gone. John gave them to Count Henry, and Henry to Maurice, who, after reading, communicated them to the General Estates. The Deputies of each Province took a copy of the instructions, which they sent to their towns; and soon after they were printed and published. It appeared from them, that the President was directed not to dispute the article acknowledging the United Provinces to be independent; but if they refused to restore to Philip his former revenues, to insist for a certain sum, in place of them, to be paid yearly. He was next to insinuate that the whole Provinces, when

Richardot's
instructions
found and
published.
October 1.

* Escrit fait par Mr. Jeannin, Negotiations, tom. 2. p. 8—19.

† Barneveldt was inclined to believe that Richardot had forgot to carry them away. Lettre de Jeannin a Mr. de Villeroy, 2 Octobre. Jeannin was, at first, inclined to think they had been stolen; (Lettre au Mr. de Villeroy, 1 Octobre,) afterwards, he speaks as doubtful; (Lettre au Mr. de Villeroy, 2 Octobre, & lettre au Mr. de Berny, 3 Octobre); and at last, as thinking that they had been forgot by Richardot himself; (Lettre au Mr. de Villeroy, 7 Octobre.)

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when united, would be a powerful body, but, if disjoined, would become an easy prey to some foreign power; and from thence to take occasion to advise the General Estates to chuse the Arch Dukes for their protectors, or, at least, to enter into a defensive league; and if this could not be obtained, to prevail with them to engage to give no assistance to each others enemies. He was ordered to conceal these instructions from the French and English Ambassadors; but, in some articles, to take their advice; and particularly, the assistance of Jeannin, in obtaining the re-establishment of the Catholic religion, and the restoration of part of the goods belonging to the church. At any rate, no concessions were to be made either with regard to religion, or the trade to the Indies.

THOUGH there was nothing in the instructions which had not been debated in the conferences, yet as it was not probable Richardot would leave them behind through negligence, many imagined he had a design to show the Confederates, that the Arch Dukes were sincere in acknowledging their independence, and, by this means, to induce them to enter into a defensive league. They were published with a view to render the advices of the French and English Ambassadors suspected, or to excite some degree of resentment in Henry and James against the Arch Dukes. Richardot, on his part, in a letter he wrote to Jeannin from Brussels, ascribed what had happened entirely to his own forgetfulness; and complained of his instructions being published, as a violation of the laws of hospitality, and the rights of Ambassadors *.

THE

* Grotius, p. 546. Baudius, lib. 2. p. 215—223. Jeannin.

BOOK V. 1608. layed demanding the resolution of the General Estates concerning this plan, until they should receive a definitive answer from Brussels. But all the members of that assembly, except those from Zealand, having come to the Hague from their several Provinces, they thought proper to recommend it to them in the strongest terms, lest the General Estates should determine to put a final end to the treaty.

And exhibit
a plan of it.
October 13.

JEANNIN, accordingly, in name of all the Ambassadors, represented the advantages of adopting a truce on the terms they proposed. By these, the principal articles in dispute were to be settled in this manner: The liberty of the United Provinces to be acknowledged in the same form as in the agreement for a cessation of arms, and which, it was thought, contained a sufficient assurance, not only during the truce, but for ever; a free trade to the Indies to be granted; only three months to be allowed for the King of Spain to signify whether he consented; if, during that time, no declaration was made, things should continue as at present, and no acts of hostilities in the Indies to break the truce; both parties to retain what they now possessed; and the truce to continue for ten years. Winwood, in name of the English Ambassadors, in order to give greater weight to the advice, expressly told the General Estates, that if they refused to accept of the truce, they were not to expect any succours from James, who would, in this event, abandon them altogether*. The General Estates thanked the Ambassadors for their attention to their interest, and said, that they would deliberate

* Lettre au Roy, 21 Octobre, en Jeannin. Winwood's Memorials, vol. 2. p. 443.

deliberate upon the propofal with that ferioufnefs Book V.
which the importance of it required †. 1608.

IN the mean time, two letters came from Richardot to the Ambaffadors; in the firft of which Sentiments and conduct of the parties. he perfifted in his former opinion, that the Confederates muft reft fatisfied with the words of the declaration already made, and defired that they would ufe their influence to get it accepted; or, if this fhould be refused, to prevail with the General Eftates to wait the return of a melfenger from Spain. In the fecond letter, though dated on the Oct. 16. fame day, he informed them, that the Arch Dukes confented to treat both in their own name, and “in the name of his Catholic Majefty;” but begged that they would not communicate this confeffion to the General Eftates, except in the laft extremity ‡.

FIVE entire Provinces were for accepting the truce. The Province of Zealand oppofed it, and had no Deputies in the Affembly of the States General. In the Province of Holland, twelve of eighteen towns which had votes in the States of the Provinces, with the nobility, who had one vote, approved of the truce. It was generally thought, that the minority of thefe towns would yield; and that though Zealand feemed very obftinate, yet, if Holland fhould join with the other five, that Province likewife would at laft confent. Various artifices, however, were ufed to fupport the oppofition. One day there were found on the ftreet three letters in the Flemifh language, one addreffed to the General Eftates, another to the States of Artifices to oppofe the truce.
Holland,

E e 2

† Baudius, lib. 3. p. 230—245. Jeannin. Grotius. Bentivoglio.

‡ Lettres de Mr. Richardot a tous Mef. les Ambaffadeurs, du 16 Oct. en Jeannin, tom. 2. p. 19, et 20.

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A second
letter by
Maurice
against the
truce.
Oct. 21.

MAURICE still continued zealous in the opposition. He wrote another letter to the towns, to dissuade them from agreeing to the truce. He insisted at great length on the danger of treating with an enemy who had no other intention than to deceive, as was evident, he said, from the Ratification from Spain of the cessation of hostilities not being yet produced, though promised by the Arch Dukes. He likewise observed, that the union of Utrecht did not admit of affairs of so much importance being determined by a plurality of voices†. Henry was so much offended with some

* Jeannin Lettre a Mr. le Duc de Sully, et Lettre au Mr. de Villeroy, 21 Octobre. Grotius.

† Seconde Lettre de Monseigneur le Prince Maurice escrite au villes. Jeannin, tom. 2. p. 26—33.

some expressions, insinuating a suspicion of his conduct, that he returned a very sharp answer to the letter he received from Maurice, and likewise wrote to the General Estates, assuring them of the uprightness of his intentions, and advising them to accept of the truce. Jeannin, in presenting this letter, strongly recommended union and harmony *. The English Ambassadors gave them a similar exhortation; and again added, that if they did not consent to the truce, they could expect no assistance from their master. †.

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PHILIP, Prince of Orange, came about this time to Holland, with a design of settling family affairs with his brothers, as thought by some; or, with a particular commission from the Arch Dukes, as others imagined ‡. Maurice took that opportunity, under pretence of visiting him, and when the deputies of the Province were returned, to wait upon the Magistrates in each town he passed, and to recommend to them to reject the truce, or, at least, not to accept of it, unless the independence of the Provinces should be acknowledged to be perpetual. It was objected to his present conduct, that the cessation of arms had been agreed to with his consent; and that the first proposal of it had been communicated to him on the part of the Arch Dukes, even before it was mentioned in the General Estates. To justify himself, he said that he had been deceived, by being informed there was no real intention to treat, but only a design to

Maurice visits the towns in Holland. Oct. 28.

* Both these letters may be seen in Jeannin Negot. tom. 2. p. 57—64.

† Propos tenu en l'Assemblée Generale des Estats, et Lettre au Roy, 5 Novembre, en Jeannin Negot. tom. 2. p. 75—78. 88.

‡ Pise, p. 595.

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to use this as a method of inducing Henry and James to give large succours; but that, as soon as he perceived he was mistaken, he had opposed every step towards a treaty to the utmost of his power *.

The treaty
for a truce
makes some
progress.

THE party, however, which had declared for the truce, daily increased. Henry's letters had some effect. They showed Maurice, that his threatenings to cause a division among the provinces were ill received; and confirmed the General Estates in the opinion that his Majesty acted with sincerity. Two more towns in Holland were gained over; and it was generally thought that the other four, which had hitherto opposed, would follow their example. They proposed that the term should be fifteen, instead of ten years. Though Zealand still insisted that no such treaty could be made but with the unanimous consent of all the Provinces, this objection was not much regarded. It was answered, that this rule applied only in the case of a treaty with an enemy, to whom they were to acknowledge subjection; but, when a treaty was made with their equals, who had owned them to be independent, a plurality of voices might determine; that all the Provinces, and even Zealand itself, had already consented to treat of a peace, or a truce for some years; that they could not now bring into debate whether they should treat, or not; and that the only thing which

* The eagerness of Maurice involved him in a personal quarrel with James, by some indiscreet expressions he had used concerning his Majesty's attachment to Spain. James wrote to the General Estates, complaining of the affront. The Prince was obliged to make some acknowledgment of his offence. The particulars of this quarrel may be seen in Birch's Negotiations, p. 287 and 288; James's letter to the States, and Maurice's letter to his Majesty, in Winwood's Memorials, vol. 2. p. 453, 454, 469.

which remained was to consider the conditions. In a few days more, only Amsterdam and Delft, of all the towns in Holland, remained in their first opinion; so that the chief reason for apprehending there might still be some difficulty in bringing the affair to a conclusion, was a suspicion that the King of Spain would not consent that the Arch Dukes should treat in his name *.

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Novem. 8.

THE Deputies of Zealand arrived at the Hague, with instructions to mention their objections against the truce, but with orders not to join in any determination. The Ambassadors of England and France repaired to the General Estates, and advised these Deputies to go back to their Province; to consult their Constituents; and return again as quickly as possible, in order to prevent the prolonging of the cessation of arms for the next year, which would necessarily be attended with many inconveniences. They were assured, at the same time, that they had no further concession to expect on the part of the Arch Dukes. They accordingly went away, and were followed by Deputies appointed by the General Estates to persuade them to adopt the sentiments of the other Provinces. The Ambassadors, likewise, sent De Preaux to the Arch Dukes, to acquaint them particularly with the present state of the treaty, the difficulties which prevented it from being brought to a conclusion, and the reports which were spread of his Catholic Majesty refusing to allow his name to be mentioned †.

Novem. 18.

DURING

* Lettre au Roy, Lettre a Mr. le Duc de Sully, 5 Novembre, & Lettre a Mr. de Villeroy, 8 Novembre.

† The arguments used by the Ambassadors to enforce their advice, and particularly to remove the difficulty arising from the

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Adolph of
Nassau
killed.

DURING the cessation of arms, Count Adolph of Nassau, brother of Ernest, had gone from Nimmeguen with nine companies of horse to the borders of Luxemburg, to enforce the payment of some contributions which the inhabitants, from the prospect of a peace, had refused. He allowed his soldiers too much liberty, and could not restrain them from committing some acts of rapine. In his return, he quartered near Rhineberg. The garrison of that town attacked his camp in the night-time, killed ten or sixteen men, and the Count himself, a young man of great courage, and much esteemed by his soldiers. But they severely revenged his death: for, when the Spaniards were intent upon plunder, they returned to the charge, and, supported by some more of their companions who came to their assistance, made great slaughter. Five hundred and ten Spaniards were left dead upon the field; part of whom, though they had surrendered, were put to death by the States soldiers enraged at the loss of their General*.

The treaty
fast ad-
vances.

WHILE the dispositions both of the Arch Dukes and of the Confederates appeared favourable to the truce, there were still great doubts whether Philip would consent. He would have been willing to agree, provided every thing was allowed to remain as at present; but to declare the Provinces free, and to permit them, in express words, to continue their trade in the Indies, were concessions he would probably consider as unbecoming his dignity. It
was

the want of the unanimous consent of the Provinces, may be seen in "Propos tenus par les Ambassadeurs," en Jeannin, tom. 2. p. 106—112.

* Baudius, lib. 3. p. 228. Grotius, p. 552. Pise 735. Meursius. Baudart. Jeannin. Adolph was the third son of John, Count of Nassau, Dillembourgh, &c. son of John, fourth brother of William, late Prince of Orange.

was thought in Spain that the clause, acknowledging their independence, however limited, would always be interpreted in favour of their liberty; and that whenever this was granted, they would refuse to admit the exercise of the Catholic religion. The Arch Dukes, wearied out with the long war, and dreading the consequences of its continuance, listened more readily to the entreaties of the Ambassadors, and particularly of Jean-nin, who, with great address, represented, that the declaration could not do any prejudice to their rights; that the very words themselves, *as free*, did not strictly imply that the United Provinces were really free, but only *resembled* free States; and that it was necessary to make this acknowledgment, in order to satisfy the populace, who would be pleased with the appearance of liberty, while the general terms in which it was expressed could not deprive either his Catholic Majesty, or the Arch Dukes, of any of their former pretensions. Albert, therefore, laboured to procure Philip's consent, in which he was seconded by the Duke of Lerma, who had great influence in his Majesty's Councils. As the Confederates had so resolutely insisted for a declaration of their liberty, before they would agree to a suspension of arms for a few months, it was not to be imagined, that they would ever relinquish this point, in a truce for several years. Albert, on this account, dispatched Inico de Brazuela, a priest of the Dominican order and his own Confessor, to reconcile Philip to such a declaration, and to mention to him the disadvantages of any longer carrying on a war which, among other consequences, would probably be followed with the entire ruin of the Catholic religion, not only in the revolted, but even in the obedient Provinces*.

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THE

* Grotius, p. 551. Bentivoglio.

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Artifice of
Richardot.

THE conduct of Richardot showed how very averse Philip was to yield in this article. He wrote to Jeannin, that his Majesty was more unwilling than ever, because James had given him hopes, that a simple truce would be concluded, without containing any acknowledgment of the independence of the Provinces. This was entirely the President's own invention; contrived, no doubt, with a design to make the Ambassadors suspicious of one another, and to interrupt that harmony with which they had hitherto proceeded in the negotiation. The intelligence gained credit for some time in France. Henry was much incensed, and considered such a step in James as intended to renew the war, and embroil him with Philip. He was satisfied, however, by the English Ambassador residing at the Court expressly asserting, that it was wholly a forgery of Richardot, and that his Majesty had never proposed a truce without a declaration of the liberty of the Provinces, nor ever given any hopes that the General Estates would agree to it without such an acknowledgment. The English Ambassadors at the Hague, likewise, not only denied that he had ever entertained such a project, but informed the French Ambassadors that they had got letters from his Majesty, in which they were ordered to aver, that if any of his Ministers had made such a proposal he would cut off his head.

Dec. 16.

THE town of Delft having approved of the truce, and Amsterdam alone, of all the Provinces of Holland, continuing in the opposition, the General Estates sent three deputies to induce that town to agree; which they accordingly accomplished. The Deputies sent to Zealand, returned with accounts, that there was a prospect of an accommodation; and De Preaux, from Brussels, with an assurance that his Catholic Majesty was willing the
treaty

treaty should be made in his name, as well as that of the Arch Dukes. Henry instructed his Ambassadors, that in case the truce, on the plan proposed, was not accepted by the Arch Dukes, and the war renewed, they should give the General Estates all encouragement to expect his utmost assistance. But matters were now so far advanced, that, in the view of the treaty being soon brought to a conclusion, the suspension of arms was prolonged to the fifteenth of February *.

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Dec. 21.

ZEALAND having at last consented to the treaty, the General Estates again assembled, and resolved to adopt the plan of the Mediators, with a few variations of no consequence; but under the express condition, that if the Arch Dukes should either refuse to acknowledge, both in their own name, and in the name of his Catholic Majesty, the independence of the United Provinces, or insist upon upon any innovations in matters of religion, eight days only should be allowed them to form a final resolution; and if it was not agreeable to the proposed terms, all conferences should be at an end, and the war renewed †. The Ambassadors intimated this determination to the Arch Dukes; but knowing that the Confederates were very averse to admit any of their enemies within their territories, and being willing to prevent a delay, offered to go to Antwerp, where the Arch Dukes might send Commissioners to consider of any difficulties that remained. This scheme was accepted; and the conferences

1609.
The General Estates agree to treat of a truce.
Jan. 11.

* Lettre de Mr. Richardot au Sieurs Ambassadeurs, 19 Decembre. Lettre de Jeannin a Mr. de Villeroy, 16 Decembre. Lettre du Roy, 29 Decembre. Lettre de Jeannin a Mr. de Villeroy, 21 Decembre. Lettre de Mr. de la Boderie a Mr. Jeannin, 27 Decembre. Winwood, vol. 2. p. 455, 456, 466, & 471, 473, &c.

† This spirited resolution is inserted in the Appendix, No. II.

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1609.
Confer-
ences be-
tween the
Ambassadors
and Spanish
Deputies at
Antwerp.
Feb. 10.

conferences began the tenth day of February at Antwerp, between the English and French Ambassadors, and the Marquis of Spinola, Richardot, and the other Commissioners from the Arch Dukes. The latter proposed, that the suspension of arms should be prolonged to the end of the month, before which time they expected the return of Ney, who had left Madrid the twenty-eighth of January. The Ambassadors procured the consent of the General Estates; but declared, that if the Arch Dukes did not agree to the truce by the twenty-fourth of February, they would retire, and give up all hopes of an accommodation. To show, that they would admit of no farther delay, they ordered the vessels which had brought them to Antwerp, to remain in the harbour until that day, when they should carry them back, if the Arch Dukes would not then accept of the terms proposed. This firmness reduced the Spanish Commissioners to the necessity of procuring from the Arch Dukes an explicit resolution. For this purpose, Richardot went to Brussels. Upon his return, he said, that as the sentiments of his Catholic Majesty were now sufficiently known, there was no occasion to wait the return of the Confessor.

Feb. 16.

Debate con-
cerning the
trade to the
Indies.

ACCORDINGLY, the plan of the truce was taken into consideration. There were long debates on several of the articles, and many objections were stated by the Spanish Commissioners. They were displeased at the title of *High and Mighty Lords* given to the General Estates in the preamble to the treaty. But the article acknowledging, in the name of the Arch Duke, and of his Catholic Majesty, the independence of the United Provinces, was yielded without any farther opposition; only with a declaration, that his Majesty consented contrary to the advice of his Council, being over-
come

come more by the entreaties of the Arch Dukes, and the friendship he had for them, than by any other motive †. The principal difficulty was with respect to the article concerning trade. Though the Spanish Commissioners seemed willing that it should be free, yet, when they came to explain themselves more fully, they demanded that the Indies should not be expressly named, and said, it would be sufficient if the truce was general, without any mention of particular places. They insisted that the trade of the Confederates should be limited to his Catholic Majesty's dominions in Spain and Italy; and added, that it never was the intention of his Majesty to allow it in such places as belonged to him in the Indies, or any where else beyond these bounds, but only, that that they might trade without any disturbance in those places which were not in his possession, and where they had the permission of the Princes and people of the country. The Ambassadors endeavoured to convince the Commissioners that this would not satisfy the Confederates; that as the truce was designed to be general, in the Indies as well as elsewhere, it was reasonable that commerce should be declared free, without any exception of places possessed by his Majesty, either in the Indies, in Spain, or in Italy. Three days were spent in the disputes on this subject; and a variety of proposals made. The Spanish Commissioners, at last, declared, that Philip would allow the Confederates the trade to the Indies, but would by no means agree that it should be granted in express words, lest the Provinces in alliance with him should make the same demand. They said that it would be less shameful, and give him less pain, to grant it in general terms, or by implication and

† Baudius, lib. 3. p. 309. Jeannin.

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and circumlocution, than in precise words; and that there were some other considerations which affected his Majesty's interest, but which would be of no prejudice to the Confederates who ought to be satisfied if they were indulged with a free and safe trade.

THE Ambassadors expressed this article in a form to which it was believed the Arch Dukes would agree. The word *Indies* was not mentioned, and the King was to engage not to give any disturbance either to the Confederates in carrying on trade with other Princes or nations who should allow them, or to those Princes who should grant them this permission. It was, however, very doubtful if the General Estates would consent, because the Indies were not expressly named. It was probable, that they would insist on this point, in the same manner they had done with respect to the acknowledgment of their independence; and plead, that, if it was the King of Spain's intention to allow them a free trade to the Indies, it should be clearly expressed, and not in ambiguous terms, which would be interpreted to their disadvantage. It was supposed, that those who were against the truce would use this as an argument; maintain, that his Majesty had no right to prohibit any from trading to the Indies, except to such places as belonged to himself, and, therefore, that this obligation was unnecessary; allege, that the Spaniards would use every artifice to interrupt their trade, and catch opportunities of seizing their vessels; while the Court of Madrid would disavow these actions, under pretence they were committed by pirates; and farther, that the Confederates, going to the Indies without arms, would be coolly received in that country, and unable to form any connection or alliance

alliance from which they could derive much benefit. Some difficulties were likewise started with respect to the contributions and duties imposed, during the war, on such ships as passed the Schelde and other rivers, or through Zealand to Antwerp; and to the term of the truce, which the Spanish Commissioners required should be ten years, but the General Estates twelve. After several conferences, it appeared, that any differences on these heads would be easily accommodated.

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VERREIKEN went to Brussels, in order to learn the resolution of the Arch Dukes on the article concerning the Indian trade. When he returned he reported, that the Arch Dukes would not consent even to the form in which it was last expressed. But Richardot begged, that two days might be allowed him again to consult the Arch Dukes, which the Ambassadors granted, positively declaring, at the same time, that if the article was not accepted, they would depart, without desiring the General Estates to prolong the suspension of arms, or to send their deputies to Antwerp to continue the treaty. Jeannin, whose attention was unwearied, and who had shown the utmost address during the whole of the negociation, held a private conference with Richardot when he came back, in which he represented the necessity of the Arch Dukes explaining more precisely the article in dispute. He even went so far as to pretend, that he had received letters from the Hague, informing him, that the want of such an explanation would cause a total rupture. Richardot was thus forced to acknowledge to the Ambassadors that the Arch Dukes had consented to the terms proposed, though with great reluctance. When he delivered this intelligence, he accompanied it with some angry expressions, and some insinuations that the

BOOK V. ^{1609.} the two Princes had discovered an unreasonable attachment to the Confederates. By this means, however, matters were so far advanced, that the Ambassadors thought proper to advise the General Estates to assemble at Bergen-op-zoom, in the neighbourhood of Antwerp, in order that, by their being near at hand, the treaty might be more quickly dispatched. Sensible that difficulties yet remained as to the article concerning the trade to the Indies, they avoided giving a particular account of the present states of the treaty ; and told them, that as the suspension of arms expired next day, they had agreed it should be prolonged for twenty days more *.

General Estates assembled at Bergen-op-zoom. March 18.

WHEN the General Estates met at Bergen-op-zoom †, the Ambassadors went there, gave a full account of their proceedings at Antwerp, and represented with what reluctance the Catholic Commissioners had consented to the plan of the truce now proposed. They warmly exhorted the Confederates to accept of it, as containing the utmost concessions which they could expect. In order to prevail with those who might still start objections to the ambiguous manner in which the article concerning Commerce was expressed, they declared they had orders to assure them, that both their Majesties of England and France, would oblige themselves, by their guaranty of the truce, that, in case the Confederates should be disturbed in their trade in the Indies, they would consider the truce as broken, and

* Jeannin, *Negot. Lettre au Roy*, 24 Fevrier ; *Lettre a Duc de Sully*, 28 ; et au Roy, 6 et 8 Mars. Baudius, lib. 3. p. 310.

† It is said, that the number of Deputies met on this occasion amounted to eight hundred. Bentivoglio.

and assist them as vigorously as if it were violated in every article §. Almost all the Deputies in the General Estates appeared entirely satisfied; and even the article concerning trade was adopted without much debate. They asked the Ambassadors to give their guaranty to the treaty immediately, and to insert in it a clause acknowledging the independence of the United Provinces to be perpetual. But the Ambassadors begged that this might be delayed until the treaty itself was concluded. The suspension of arms was again prolonged to the end of March; and all the former Deputies, who had acted as Commissioners in the treaty, except Nicolas Berck, for Utrecht, in whose place Renesson was substituted, were appointed to go to Antwerp, and conclude the truce upon the terms now adopted by both parties*.

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and agreed
to the truce.

AFTER so tedious a negotiation, during which every article had been fully considered, little else remained but to put an end to the treaty by adjusting the necessary forms. The fixing of the limits, and the disposal of what had been confiscated during the war, caused some debates. With respect to the former, it was agreed, that the small towns and villages should follow the cities and territories to which they belonged. As to the latter, the General Estates insisted keenly that all forfeitures should be recovered without reserve, so far that every person might do with the effects thus restored as he pleased, and even sell them during the truce. The Arch Dukes, on the other hand, contended, that they should be enjoyed by

Commis-
sioners from
both parties
meet at
Antwerp.
March 25.

F f their

§ Sommaire Ecrit fait en la Assemblée des Etats, 18 Mars; Jeannin, tom. 2. p. 391—399. Baudius, lib. 3. p. 327.

* Jeannin, Lettres au Roy, et Mr. Villeroy, 21 Mars.

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April 3.

their former proprietors during the truce only, without the power of selling, or otherwise disposing of them, unless permission for this purpose was first granted. So obstinately was this point disputed, that both parties consulted their Constituents; the States Commissioners, the General Estates at Bergen-op-Zoom; and the Catholic, the Arch Dukes at Brussels. Some interruption was likewise occasioned by demands made by Maurice. Notwithstanding it was agreed that the lands in Burgundy belonging to his predecessors should be restored, and the General Estates had rewarded his services by ample appointments*, he farther required to have some recompence for the grants made to the late Prince of Orange by the Duke of Anjou, when the Provinces of Brabant and Flanders had renounced their allegiance to Spain. Though this claim appeared to the Ambassadors unreasonable, yet they pressed the Arch Dukes so earnestly to give him some satisfaction, that they consented to allow him three hundred thousand florins, one half to be paid at the end of the present year, and the other half at the end of the following, which he accepted†.

A truce
made for
twelve years.
April 9.

THE ninth day of April, the treaty was signed by the Commissioners on both sides, and by the Ambassadors

* The Appointments conferred on Maurice, Henry, and Count William of Nassau, may be seen in Jeannin's letter to Mr. de Villeroy, 21 Mars.

† Jeannin, lettre a Mr. de Villeroy, et à Mr. le Duc de Sully, 3 Avril. By a partition afterwards made between the three brothers, Philip, Maurice, and Henry, the 300,000 florins given by the Arch Dukes were equally divided among them. The division of the Estates belonging to their father, made in consequence of an Arbitration to their cousin the Count of Nassau, Brederode, and Barnevelt, with the interposition of the English and French Ambassadors, may be seen in Jeannin, tom. 2. p. 549—556.

Ambassadors of England and France, as mediators. It contained no less than thirty-eight articles. In the preamble, the Arch Dukes were styled "Most Serene Princes," and the General Estates, "Illustrious Lords." The most material of the articles were the following: The Arch Dukes declared, both in their own name and in the name of his Catholic Majesty, that they were willing to treat with the States General of the United Provinces, in quality of, and considering them as free countries, provinces, and states, to which they had no pretensions; and in that quality concluded with them the present treaty. For the space of twelve years, all hostilities between his Catholic Majesty, the Arch Dukes, and the States General, should cease in all places without exception; both parties should retain what they at present possessed; the towns, villages, and hamlets, to follow the cities and territories to which they belonged. The subjects and inhabitants of the countries belonging to his Catholic Majesty, the Arch Dukes, and States General, might frequent each others territories, and carry on trade with all security, as well by sea, and other waters, as by land; which trade his Catholic Majesty intended should be restrained to the territories and dominions which he possessed in Europe and other places, where the subjects of such Kings and Princes as were his Majesty's friends and allies, carried on trade; and as to such towns or harbours as were beyond these limits, that the States and their subjects should not carry on any trade there, without the express permission of his Catholic Majesty; but they might, notwithstanding, if they pleased, trade in countries belonging to all other Princes and people who should allow them, even beyond the above limits; and his Catholic Majesty, his officers, and subjects, should give no disturbance on this ac-

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count, either to the Princes or people who should grant them this permission, or to those who should be concerned in this trade. Beyond the above-mentioned limits, the truce was to commence in a year; it being understood, that if advice of the truce being concluded should arrive before that time, hostilities should instantly cease; but if, after the expiry of a year, any hostilities should be committed, the damage should be repaired without delay. No higher duties were to be paid by either party than were paid by the subjects and allies of each; the subjects of the States General to have the same security and liberty in the countries belonging to his Catholic Majesty and the Arch Dukes, as were granted to the subjects of Great Britain by the late treaty of peace*. All persons, whose heritable effects had been seized and confiscated during the war, or their heirs, should have them restored, and enter into possession by their own private authority, and in virtue of the present treaty, without being obliged to have recourse to courts of justice; and should enjoy them during the truce; but, on condition

* This referred to three secret articles of that treaty, relating to the method of proceeding by Inquisition, in matters of Religion, against the subjects of the King of England residing in Spain. The first was, That if they had erred before they came to Spain, no action should be commenced against them by the Inquisition: The second, That if they did not chuse to go to the church, they should not be compelled; but if they went, they should pay due respect to the holy sacrament of the altar; and likewise, if they should meet the Host in the streets, they should either pay the accustomed reverence by bending the knee, or retire into a house or another street: The third, If any person transgressed in these points, the Inquisition might proceed against him, but could sequester the property of the transgressor alone; the ship, and any thing in which he was not concerned, not to be touched. Haræi Annales, tom. 3. p. 677, and Winwood's Memorials, vol. 2. p. 29.

dition that they did not dispose of them nor diminish them during that time, without permission first obtained from the Arch Dukes or the States; and particular provisions were made in case these confiscated estates had been sold; but all moveable effects, which had been confiscated before the present treaty, were not to be restored. No new forts were to be built in the Netherlands, either by the Arch Dukes or the States; and prisoners on both sides to be released without any ransom. The Arch Dukes engaged to ratify this treaty in four days, and to procure his Catholic Majesty's ratification within three months †.

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IN this manner did the Confederates gain several points of great consequence. It is observable, at the same time, that some of the most important were very obscurely expressed. Much dexterity and address were used by the Ambassadors to prevail with them to be satisfied; but all their arguments would not probably have been sufficient, had they not consented to give a farther explanation after the treaty should be concluded. This was demanded particularly for the third article, which concerned the Limits, and the fourth, which concerned Trade. Accordingly, the Ambassadors, by a formal writing, certified, that, by the third article, it was understood by both parties, that all territories which the General Estates possessed in Brabant and Flanders, *viz.* the Marquisate of Bergen-op-Zoom, the Baronies of Breda, Grave, and whatever was annexed to the towns, villages, and territories thereto belonging, as well as in their other provinces, should be enjoyed by them in all their rights of superiority. Notwithstanding

Explanation of the third and fourth articles.

† Carnero, lib. 16. c. 16. Haræus. Bentivoglio. Grotius. Baudius. Jeannin. Meursius. Vanden Sande. Ens.

BOOK V. { standing all the pains taken to frame the fourth article, the resolution of the States, on the one hand, rather to break off all treaty than to be excluded from the Indian trade, and that of Philip, on the other, never to allow any mention to be made of the Indies, rendered it still ambiguous §. 1609. The General Estates thought, that though the Indies were not expressly mentioned, they might carry on their trade to that country, because the truce was general, without any exception of persons and places, and commerce declared to be free to all the subjects of the respective parties, in all places whatever. This interpretation, it was well known, was liable to great disputes; for though, in the treaties which Spain had made both with England and France, trade was declared to be free, yet the Spaniards did not intend that either the English or French should enjoy a trade to the Indies.

THE General Estates foreseeing that the article in the present treaty might be interpreted in this manner, and that, if they continued to go to the Indies, they might be exposed to danger, while the Spaniards would pretend that hostilities in these countries ought not to be regarded as an infraction of the truce in other places; and, desirous of having this point settled with as much precision as they could obtain, the English and French Ambassadors gave, at their request, a certificate, bearing that both parties had agreed that neither should carry on trade in such places in the Indies as belonged to the other, without first obtaining permission for this purpose; and likewise that the States

§ Richardot used often afterwards to say, That he did not understand this article. It is inserted, in French and Spanish, in the Appendix, No. III.

States Deputies had often declared, in their presence, and in presence of the Spanish Commissioners, that, in case any attack was made upon their friends and allies in these countries, they would defend and assist them, which should not be considered as an infraction of the truce. Besides, the General Estates were so anxious on this head, that they made the Spanish Commissioners sign, in name of his Majesty and the Arch Dukes, a particular and private article relating to this subject, to be ratified in the same manner as the treaty itself, and in which was the following clause: That during the truce, his Catholic Majesty should give no disturbance, either by sea or land to the General Estates, or their subjects, in carrying on trade in the countries belonging to any princes or people who should allow them, *in any place whatever*, even without the limits of these dominions which his Majesty had in Europe and elsewhere, nor to those who should trade with the Confederates; and that he should faithfully observe his engagement in such manner as this their trade might be free and unmolested.

To gratify the King of Spain and the Arch Dukes, in the point of Religion, the General Estates promised, and, by a writing which they put into the hands of Jeannin and Ruffy, declared, that there should be no innovation in matters of religion in the villages within the jurisdiction of the towns belonging to the Confederates in Brabant; and that as, in these places, the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion alone had been maintained, so it should continue, without any change. The French Ambassadors signed a writing which they delivered to the Spanish Deputies, engaging, in the name of his Christian

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Application
by Jeannin
in behalf of
the Catholics.

JEANNIN was repeatedly ordered by Henry to procure some favour for the Catholics, but found that it was in vain to make any attempt of this kind during the dependence of the treaty. After it was concluded, he perceived, that, besides the concession already made, the utmost he could expect was to prevail with the General Estates not to molest or disturb them in the exercise of their religion. Immediately upon his return to the Hague, he made a very earnest remonstrance in their behalf. He reminded the General Estates of the great number of Catholics in their Provinces, who had exposed their lives and fortunes in the same common cause during the war, and, no doubt, hoped, that when it was finished, they would be indulged with Liberty of Conscience. He observed, that none could be either free or happy, who were not allowed to serve God according to that religion in which they had been educated; and that the many disturbances which had arisen in Christendom, on this account, showed, that it was the intention of the Almighty to convince mankind, that religion should be taught and enforced by the influences of the Holy Spirit, not by force and violence. He urged several considerations, which he thought should have great weight, and were peculiarly applicable to the United Provinces.

THERE

* *Traité particulier et secret que les deputes des Estats ont demandé au Roy d'Espagne, et qui leur a esté accordé. Certificat de Mess. les Ambassadeurs touchant le fait de Limites, et le Commerce des Indes. Certificat. de Mess. les Ambassadeurs de France, pour le fait de la Religion Catholique en Brabant; en Jeannin Negot. tom. 2. p. 457—459.*

THERE was a wide difference, he said, between the refusal of an absolute Sovereign, who would not allow the exercise of any other religion than that which he found received in his dominions, and a like refusal from the General Estates to their fellow-citizens. The former might do it with justice, though his own prudence should direct him how far it was expedient. They, on the other hand, both Catholics and Reformed, had acquired, in common, liberty and independence. It was reasonable, therefore, that each should share in these blessings; and it would be unjust, that, in the very point where all men felt most sensibly, some should assume an absolute authority, and not only deprive others of the fruits of victory, and of the success God had given them in the common cause, but oblige them to pass their days in a worse condition than they had formerly enjoyed. Besides, it ought to be considered, that this conduct might be prejudicial to those of the Reformed religion, in places where they were the weaker party; and who, in this case, would intreat, in vain, from the Catholics, the like indulgence. The General Estates might grant it to the Catholics without any danger. Those who had been faithful to their country during the dangers of war, and when they were deprived of the exercise of their religion, would be still more attached to the public interest, when they should enjoy this advantage, and share equally with others in the honours of the state. On the other hand, if it should be denied them, there was some hazard of their discontent producing rebellion, and pushing them on to some desperate actions prejudicial to liberty. At least, it might be apprehended that they would lose all attachment to their native country, and retire to another,

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BOOK V. ther, where they might enjoy what was so dear to
 1609. all. If freedom of conscience was not allowed, it was impossible to say what excesses in wickedness men might commit. The public exercises of religion remind them of their duty; exposed to the view of every one, by engaging in acts of piety and devotion, the fear of being censured, if their conduct did not correspond with their professions, proves a restraint; and, when this is removed, they become altogether abandoned. Hence, the wisest among the ancients thought it better to allow superstition, than to encourage impiety, or the want of all religious principles *.

Answer by
 the General
 Estates.

THE General Estates, unwilling directly to refuse Jeannin's request, begged that his Christian Majesty would delay insisting upon this demand, because the greater part of the Deputies were of opinion that the exercise of the Catholic religion could not be introduced into the Provinces, nor be established by law, without endangering their infant republic. They declared, at the same time, that, on account of the respect which was due to his Majesty, they would allow a toleration, and permit the exercise of this religion, if performed privately, and not in large assemblies †.

Henry pro-
 poses an al-
 teration in
 the govern-
 ment of the
 United Pro-
 vinces.

HENRY likewise meditated a design of inducing the Confederates to make a considerable alteration in the form of their government. He proposed that they should appoint a new Council of State, with powers to decide finally all differences

* Remonstrance par M. Jeannin. Negot. tom. 2. p. 530—535.

† Sommaire de la Negotiation; Jeannin Negot. tom. 1. p. 10.

ences between one Province, or one town, and another ; to execute the resolutions of the States General ; and, in short, to represent the whole body of the State in the management and administration of all public business, except making alliances with foreign Princes, peace, or war, and raising extraordinary taxes, which were to be reserved to the General Estates. He mentioned, as his reasons for recommending this change, that, according to the present constitution, where every Province was a separate body, possessing a right of sovereignty, and having a voice in the General Estates, that Assembly was obliged to meet often, and sometimes on very trifling affairs ; that this occasioned many delays in their proceedings ; and that the deliberations became known to all, a circumstance which, in many cases, was attended with great inconveniencies. Other considerations, however, had probably more weight. By the plan he had in view, this Council was to consist of twelve or fifteen persons, the President and two Counsellors to continue during life, the others to be changed every three years. Henry's intention was, that Maurice should be President, and be assisted by Counts William and Henry, whom he made no doubt of being able to attach wholly to his own interest. He suspected that Philip would never have made a peace with the Confederates, generally considered as dishonourable to him, unless he had been afraid of their receiving succours from France, and in the hopes of recovering, by secret practices, during the truce, that authority which he in vain attempted to gain by force. Henry, therefore, was desirous of having some persons in the administration of the affairs of the United Provinces who would be under his influence, and always be ready to counteract

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teract the machinations of Philip. He was willing to employ money for this purpose; and thought that it would have more effect when properly distributed among a few entrusted with extensive powers.

JEANNIN foresaw that, in order to accomplish this scheme, it would be necessary for Maurice and Barnevelt to be united; and that though the former might readily adopt it, yet it would be very difficult to procure the consent of the latter. Barnevelt had great influence, and was Advocate* and first Counsellor of the Province of Holland, in which capacity he took an oath to attend faithfully to the interest of that particular Province; whereas, those who were to be members of the proposed Council, must swear to take care of the interests, not of the particular Provinces by whom they were named, but of the Provinces in general. Even though it should be agreed to admit Barnevelt, yet it was not probable that he would accept; for, as it would not be necessary, when almost all business would be managed by this Council, to hold an Assembly of the General Estates oftner than once or twice in the year, where he would have his own voice only, and his measures would be frequently rejected, he must lose that authority he had at present in the General Estates, where the other Provinces generally followed the advice of the Province of Holland, which was almost entirely under his direction. Jeannin, who possessed every talent for

* The office of Advocate of Holland was for life. He was called likewise the Pensionary, and Counsellor Pensionary. It was his duty to propose, in the meeting of the States, the subjects of their deliberation, to collect their opinions, and to compose any differences that arose. Wiquefort, *Histoire des Provinces Unies*, p. 10.—Grotius, p. 109.

for negotiation and intrigue, hoped that even this obstacle might be removed, by conferring on Barnevelt the honour of being President of the Council, and Keeper of the Seal of the Provinces; and by procuring the office of Advocate of Holland for his brother, a man of capacity, but less violent and obstinate in his temper. He did not venture to explain the particulars of this project; but in the last audience of the General Estates, he insinuated that some new regulations would be proper, and offered to confer with their Deputies on this subject. Talking privately with Maurice, he found him very well disposed; and even Barnevelt not only made large professions of attachment to his Christian Majesty, but promised to use the utmost endeavours to preserve the Confederates in that affection and duty they owed him; and, in case they discovered any inclination to change their government from a Republic to a Principality, to prefer his Majesty to every other person. But Jeannin was obliged to drop all farther prosecution of the scheme for a new Council, because those whose concurrence would be required were not sufficiently inclined to adopt, at present, such a material alteration in the government, and some time would be necessary to establish that mutual confidence between Maurice and Barnevelt, without which it could not succeed*.

THE publication of the truce was made with great solemnity; and this event, so eagerly wished for by many, was celebrated with thanksgivings, and every possible demonstration of joy. The treaty

Ratification
of the truce,
and of the
treaties with
England and
France.

* Henry's views sufficiently appear from Instruction a Mr. de Preaux, Jeannin Negot. tom. i. p. 58—64; Lettre de Jeannin et de Ruffy au Roy, 8 May; Dernier Proposition, 18 May; Lettre au Roy, 8 May; Lettre du Roy, 18 May. *Ibid.*

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treaty was ratified in due time by the Arch Dukes and his Catholic Majesty †. The English and French Ambassadors ratified likewise, in their act of guaranty, the treaties made with James and Henry in January and June 1608, in the view of a peace between the Arch Dukes and the Confederates; and declared, that all the terms which they contained should be faithfully observed during the truce. They engaged that the succours and assistance promised in these treaties should be given the Confederates, not only in case of an infraction of the truce with respect to the fourth article; but likewise, if the General Estates, their subjects, those who traded with them, or the Princes, or people who granted them liberty of commerce, should, on this account, be molested by his Catholic Majesty, his officers, or subjects, in their trade in the Indies. The General Estates, on the one part, became bound, that they would not make any treaty, during the truce, with his Catholic Majesty or the Arch Dukes, without the consent of their Majesties of England and France, who, on the other part, obliged themselves not to make, with any Prince or State, any treaty prejudicial to the Confederates, whom they would always consider as their friends and allies*.

Thus ended a negotiation rendered famous by the time employed in it; the attention which it excited among the Princes of Europe; the many difficulties in bringing it to a conclusion; and, its valuable consequences with regard to the United Provinces. The Confederates now saw their importance

† Grotius, p. 569. Meursius, p. 318. Baudart. Pise.

* Traité de la Garentie de la Tresue; Jeannin Negot. tom. 2. p. 526, &c.

portance acknowledged by other States, and obtained that testimony which was due to their singular merit, in opposing, with such firmness and success, the unjustifiable attempts of arbitrary power. Henry IV. of France gave a public declaration of the sentiments he entertained of them, by admitting Aërsens, who had been formerly Resident only at his Court, in the more honourable character of an Ambassador, and creating him a knight and baron of his kingdom †. Several years past had exhibited various proofs of their rising greatness; and the fame of their power induced distant nations to court their alliance.

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A FLEET under the command of Verhoeven and Wittert, was, at this time, prosecuting with advantage the design of the voyage. The Admiral was ordered by the Directors of the East India Company, to search out and engage the Portuguese fleet, which would probably be at Mosambique, or some other place in that latitude. In consequence of his instructions, he anchored in the road of Mosambique, the twenty-eighth day of July 1608, and dispatched two yachts to cruize about, and bring intelligence. He easily seized a carrack, and two smaller vessels that were lying in the road. The carrack was mounted with thirty-five cannon, had wintered in the harbour, and was preparing to sail for Goa. Her cargo consisted of Spanish woollen cloth, elephants teeth, ebony, wine, oil, and some other goods. The small vessels were empty.

Progress of
the Confe-
derates in
the East In-
dies.

† Histoire de Hollande depuis la Treve de 1609, ou finit Grotius, jusqu'à notre tems; par M. de la Neuville; tom. 1. liv. 1. c. 1. " C'etoit l'opinion commune de ce tems-là, que
" ce Prince couchoit avec la Femme d'Aërsens, et que le Mari
" en demeuroit content, a cause du grand profit qu'il en tiroit.
" Ce commerce fut le commencement de sa fortune."—Memoires, par Amelot de la Houssaie, tom. 1. article Aërsens.

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empty. The Admiral, having landed his men without any opposition, opened trenches, and advanced to a fort possessed by the Portuguese. It was one of the strongest which they held in these countries; and Verhoeven soon found that he could not expect to gain it by force. During the siege, a Flemish soldier deserted; and upon the Governor of the fort refusing to deliver him up, the Admiral ordered thirty-four prisoners he had taken to be placed before the trenches, and sent a messenger to inform the besieged, that if they did not instantly comply, all of them should be put to death. The Governor still refused; the threatening was executed; and the prisoners were beheaded. Before he left Mosambique, he took a galleon of four hundred and sixty tons belonging to the Portuguese fleet, which when it left Lisbon, consisted of eight large carracks and six galleons; but they had been separated from one another at the Canary Islands.

Goa.

An alliance
made with
the Empe-
ror of Ma-
labar,

VERHOEVEN made directly for Goa, and came in sight of it on the eighteenth of September. He detached five of his vessels, under the command of the Vice-Admiral, to range along the coast towards the south. Two of them were ordered to land at Calicut, and the officers instructed to go ashore, and pay their compliments to Samorin, Emperor of Malabar. The Admiral having received information that twelve Portuguese ships had arrived at Dubal, resolved to attack them; but as the wind got into the north and north east, he could not continue his route northwards, and therefore bore away south, until he came to the road of Calicut. He learned from the officers whom he had appointed to wait upon the Emperor, that they had been favourably received; and next day, one of his principal courtiers came on board the Admiral,

Admiral, and promised that he should have an audience of the Emperor. The Admiral, accordingly, accompanied by eight of his officers, and two hundred of his men, went ashore, where he was met by a thousand men under arms, who conducted him to the palace. The Emperor received him with great civility, and presented his hand to be kissed. When the Admiral had saluted the young Prince, and the whole Court, the Emperor took him by the hand, and passing his fingers between those of the Admiral, said, "As our fingers are now joined, so let the two nations of Calicut and Holland be joined together." When the Flemings retired, they were told, that they should have, next day, an audience in the Council.

IN the morning they received a message desiring, that they would prepare proper presents for the Emperor, the young Prince, and others of the Emperor's children. Accordingly, some scarlet cloth, matts, fabres, and a small pistol, were sent ashore for this purpose. When the Admiral, attended, as had been desired, by only three of his officers, entered the chamber where the Council were waiting, he found six Counsellors sitting, according to their manner, in a circle. He was told by an interpreter, in their name, that the King of Cochin, who was in alliance with the Portuguese, had often solicited Samorin to enter into the same league, which he had hitherto declined, because he had always thought the Portuguese, dissembling and treacherous; that he wished rather an alliance with the Flemings, and had actually made a league with them four years before, as appeared from the treaty concluded with Admiral Van Hagen; but, as notwithstanding the promise then made, they had sent no succours to enable him to act against

the Portuguese, he now hoped that the fleet in the harbour was come on this design. The Admiral answered, that the General Estates, Prince Maurice, and the Directors of the East India Company, had strongly recommended to him the interest of the Emperor, and given orders to assist him to the utmost of his power; but that the state of affairs in the Moluccas required the first attention, and unless they were put in a better situation, any aid he could afford at present would be of little advantage, because, as long as the Portuguese were masters in the south, they could never be reduced to reason. He therefore hoped, that the Emperor would not be displeased with the fleet going to the Moluccas; and promised, that if once affairs were re-established there, he would return, and do him all the service possible. The Council, however, demanded a ratification of the treaty made with Van Hagen, and that a new alliance should be formed, by which the Portuguese, and the King of Cochin should be declared their common enemies. Upon the Admiral consenting to this request, an oath was taken by both parties, after the manner of that country, by the principal Counsellor stretching out his hand, and the Admiral laying his above it, while the Counsellors and the Flemish officers did the same. Next day, the Admiral and Council again met. The latter told Verhoeven, that the Emperor was so sensible of the importance of the Moluccas, that he did not oppose the fleet going there, but wished it success. The Admiral delivered the new treaty drawn up in the Flemish language, along with some more presents; and got, in exchange, a copy of it signed by the Emperor, and written on the leaves of cocoa.

VERHOEVEN left Calicut the sixteenth of October, and, next day, anchored in the road of Cochin, where he found the Vice-Admiral, and the ships
under

under his charge. He dispatched one of them to Bantam, with a commission to deliver to the Flemish Commissary there, a copy of the treaty with Samorin; to enquire into the state of affairs; and to desire the Commissary to send two vessels to Calicut, as had been agreed. Continuing his route south-east, along the coast, he arrived at Malacca. From this, he sent off another of his ships to Achin, in order to take in such a cargo as should be ready, and was proper for the countries farther south. Three others were afterwards ordered for the same place, to pay their compliments to the King, who received them with great professions of friendship. The Flemings found, near the shore of Malacca, a Portuguese carrack, which they burned; and, cruizing about, took two more ships, and two yachts laden with silks, velvets, damasks, and pepper. A consultation was held whether the town of Malacca should be immediately attacked. The Admiral had learned that it was provided with thirty-five pieces of large cannon, all kinds of ammunition and victuals; and that there were in the town five hundred regular troops, besides the natives. All agreed that it would be imprudent to make any attempt.

For these reasons, Verhoeven again set sail, and the 5th of January 1609, entered the Strait of Singapura. The Admiral, accompanied by a few of his officers, went in their boat to Batawsaber, to pay their respects to the King of Johor, and propose to him the execution of his treaty with Matelief, by attacking Malacca. After the ceremonies were over, he had a conference with the King and his counsellors. Verhoeven told them that he was come to build a fort at Johor, in order to serve as a defence to the inhabitants of the country and the Flemings, against the Portuguese, their common enemy.

enemy. The King endeavoured to evade this design, by saying, that Matelief had not required that a fort should be built, but only that he should assist in taking Malacca. He offered to continue the war; demanded the succours in men and ammunition which had been promised; declared, that though he knew the Portuguese were equipping a great fleet, he did not fear them, because he had always one resource left, namely, to retire with his people towards the head of the river. This step, he said, he would take, even though the Flemings were established in the country; because, if his subjects should assist in repelling the Portuguese, they would be all destroyed. He intimated a suspicion, that, if the Flemings were once settled in any considerable numbers, they would probably behave in the same manner the Portuguese had done. In vain did the Admiral endeavour to procure his consent; but having consulted with the officers, and being all of opinion, that the King of Johor, if not supported, would make peace with the Portuguese, agreed to furnish him with a sum of money, to the amount of three thousand pieces of eight, with twenty barrels of powder and materials for making bullets; and likewise to leave two vessels, one of four hundred and sixty, and the other of two hundred tons, to cruize in the river, on condition that the Flemings should have access at all times to the harbours in his dominions. When the fleet sailed from Johor, Verhoeven left there a Commissary and some assistants, with orders for the *Red Lion* and the *Griffin* to remain until the month of July following, then to take the route to Borneo, and join the fleet at the Moluccas. Soon after, the Admiral received intelligence, by a ship from Holland, of a truce being made for twelve years; and new instructions from the Directors of the Company,

Company, according to which his future conduct was to be regulated.

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PART of Matelief's fleet, which had sailed for the East Indies in May 1605, returned with Ambassadors from the King of Siam; and Paul Van Caerden, who, with eight ships, had likewise gone there in the year following, arrived a few months after the conclusion of the treaty, and brought home not only a rich cargo, but also favourable accounts of the progress of the settlements in these countries. Caerden had, besides taking the Admiral's ship of the enemy's squadron, dispossessed the Portuguese of a fort in the island of Machian, the most fertile in cloves of all the Moluccas, and received the inhabitants under the protection of the General Estates *.

SUCH was the rapid increase of the commerce of the United Provinces, even during the time of an expensive war, that the stock of the East India Company, originally near six millions and a half of florins, was, in the course of six years, notwithstanding the vast sums incurred by naval armaments, augmented to more than thirty millions of florins, besides the profits shared among the partners, which, from the year 1605, when the first dividend was made, to the year 1609, both inclusive, amounted, at a medium, to about 35 *per cent.* annually †. Not only were the Portuguese and Spaniards confined within narrower bounds, but whole kingdoms were conquered, and Indian Princes acknowledged themselves tributary to the General

Great increase of the trade of the Confederates.

* Recueil des Voyages, &c. tom. 5. p. 251—437. tom. 6. p. 1.—434. tom. 7. p. 1.—93. Thyfius, cap. 41. Pontanus, lib. 2. cap. 26. Neuville, liv. 1. ch. 3.

† Neuville, liv. 1. ch. 3. See Janicon's Account of the Dividends for the years 1605—1609. Etat. tom. 1. p. 315.

General Estates. At the end of this year, fifty vessels, the smallest of which cost twenty-five thousand crowns, all of them well equipped, and furnished with troops, were employed by the East India Company, then in actual possession of Amboina, and having forts in Banda, Ternate, Machian, and Motir, and in Gilola, the inhabitants of which were subject to the King of Ternate, but engaged to sell to that Company alone all their spiceries, at a certain fixed price. Besides this extensive and lucrative commerce, twenty large ships, having on board four hundred men, traded to Guinea, and gained, as it was computed, twelve tons of gold yearly; eighty, having on board eighteen hundred men, brought home salt, which produced an yearly profit of a million of florins; and twenty, carrying five hundred men, frequented Cuba, Hispaniola, and other coasts in America, and reaped, of profit, eight hundred thousand florins yearly*.

THIS period may be considered as the great æra of the liberty of the United Provinces; and cannot be viewed without exciting wonder at the means by which the blessing of freedom was acquired. A few people, inhabiting a small territory, maintained a war for more than forty years, against the most powerful Potentate then in Europe. By their vigorous efforts, they attracted the regard of neighbouring Princes, who were emboldened by the check thus given to the ambition of Philip, and encouraged to join their endeavours likewise in humbling a Monarch, who had long been the object of jealousy and fear. The Confederates patiently submitted to every hardship unavoidable in

* Pontanus, p. 216. Neuville, liv. 1. ch. 3. Grotius, p. 536. Ens.

in a contest seemingly so unequal. Bold and enterprising to an amazing degree, they gained advantages which exceeded even their own expectations when they first engaged in the struggle. Animated with a warm zeal in defence of ancient rights and privileges; resolute in opposing every encroachment; closely connected together by one common cause; and sagacious enough to discover where their strength could be most successfully exerted, they found out resources which enabled them to set at defiance the riches and the power of Spain. At the very time that they were loaded with heavy taxes, they extended their commerce; and, while they preserved a force sufficient for their own defence at home, carried their arms into distant countries, and seized upon a part of that wealth which, until then, their enemies had almost solely enjoyed, and which they thought to possess undisturbed and unrivalled. While the adjoining Provinces felt all the calamities of a long war: were almost exhausted; saw great innovations made on the ancient constitution; and experienced many of the evils which attend an arbitrary system of government; the Confederates enjoyed liberty; acquired importance; and increased in opulence and national prosperity. In the United Provinces, oppression was, at last, forced to yield to courage; tyranny, to the manly efforts of a brave and incensed people; and pride, to a firm and determined spirit. The King of Spain, and the Arch Dukes, confessed their inability to compel to obedience those who despised their authority, and were constrained to own the independence of States which their utmost strength could not subdue.

A P P E N D I X.

No. I. See Page 377.

An ABSTRACT of the STATE of the DEBT of the UNITED PROVINCES, *Anno* 1607.

“ **I**N the year 1598, the States debt was re- APPEND.
“ duced to the sum of 800,000*l.* Sterling, of No. I.
“ which that treaty provided for the payment
“ of 400,000*l.* Sterling, by paying of 30,000*l.*
“ a-year as long as England should continue in
“ war against Spain, and by paying of 20,000*l.*
“ when England should have made peace with
“ Spain. By the said treaty, it is provided also,
“ that the payment of the garrisons of the Cau-
“ tionary towns, to the number of 1150 men,
“ should be disbursed by the States, as long
“ as England should continue in war against
“ Spain.

“ UPON this agreement, the States have only
“ paid, as well in ready money as in vittle
“ (victual) sent from the United Provinces into
“ Ireland, the sum 60,400*l.*; and the late Queen,
“ upon fundry considerations, hath been pleased
“ to remit to the States two whole years pay-
“ ment of 30,000*l.* a-peece, which amounts to
“ 60,000*l.* By promise likewise of her late
“ Majesty,

APPEND.
No. I.

“ Majesty, in consideration of setting forth cer-
“ tain ships of war, which were to have joyned
“ with her Majesty’s ships, at the tyme when
“ her Majesty dyed, (the States ships being come
“ into the Downes), there is to be deducted the
“ sum of 30,000*l.* So, as in all, there is to be
“ deducted from the first 400,000*l.* the sum of
“ 150,400*l.*

“ Now, there is to be added for the payment
“ of the Cautionary towns, namely for 1150 men,
“ which doth yearly amount to 16,145*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*;
“ and for the entertainment of the governors
“ and officers of the said towns, which doth yearly
“ amount to 4489*l.* 10*s.* which maketh both to-
“ gether yearly 20,634*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; and in six
“ years (from 1598 tyll 1604, when his Majesty
“ concluded peace with Spaine) doth amount to
“ the sum of 123,808*l.*

“ THERE is also to be added the sum of
“ 45,000*l.* which the States receaved from the
“ French King, upon his Majesty’s account, the
“ first yeare of his raygne (reign). The other
“ 45,000*l.* which the States receaved also of the
“ French King, in the second yeare of his Ma-
“ jesty’s raygne, is not to be charged upon the
“ States, but was remitted, in regard that the
“ States furnished here in London 18,000*l.* for a
“ jewel which his Majesty bought of Monsieur de
“ Sancy.

“ So that there is to be added to the first
“ 400,000*l.* for the Cautionary towns, and one
“ payment which the States receaved of the French
“ King 168,808*l.*

“ FROM which there being deducted for pay-
“ ments made by the States, and for payments
“ remitted

“ remitted to them by the late, as is aforesaid, APPEND.
 “ 150,400*l*. No. I.

“ AND so remaineth due to his Majesty, (all
 “ deductions made) the summe of 818,408 *l*.
 “ Sterling.”

Memorials of Sir Ralph Winwood, &c. vol. 2. p. 351.

No. II. See Page 427.

ACTE contenant la Resolution des Estats sur les Principaux Articles de la Trefue à longues années.

COMME ainsi soit que dès le 23. de Decembre de l'an 1607, les Sieurs Estats Generaux de Pais-bas Unis ont unanimement, sincerement, et de bonne foy promis, qu'en cas de progres du traité pour une paix, ou trefue à longues années avec leurs adversaires, au premier article d'iceluy seroit accordé clairement, et expressement la Qualité des Pais unis, comme Pais et Provinces libres, sur lesquels ny le Roy de Espagne ny les Archiducs ne pretendent rien, en la meilleure forme; et qu'au mesme traité ne seroient admis ou accordéz aucuns points, ny és causes Ecclesiastiques ny Seculieres contre la Liberté des pais; et en cas que de la part desdits Sieurs Roys ou Archiducs seroit persisté au contraire, que le traité seroit rompu, lesdits Roys et Archiducs mis en leur tort, et de commune puissance des Pais unis, et s'il fust à impetrer des Roys, Potentats, et Estats, favori-
 fans

APPEND.
No. II.

fans la cause de ces païs, la guerre reprise, et par l'aide de Dieu Seigneur Tout-Puissant, et bonne Conduite, suivant la sincere intention desdits Sieurs Estats, seroit mené a une Chrestienne, honorable, et assurée fin. Et que le traité entamé pour la paix, par bonnes et bien fondées raisons, en conforme de ladite resolution estant rompu, les Sieurs Ambassadeurs des Roys tres Chrestien, et de la Grande Bretagne, Electeurs Palatin, et de Brandebourg, Marquis d'Ansbach, et Landgrave de Hessen, estant à la serieuse instance des Sieurs Estats envoyez icy sur le lieu pour en diriger ledit bonne œuvre a une bonne issuë, ayent proposé une trefue à longues années sur les conditions contenues en un escrit par eux delivré tant d'un que d'autre costé, avec exhortation de s'y vouloir conformer; et qu'apres plusieurs difficultez, finalement les Provinces-Unies se confians sur la tres-grande Affection, Sageste, Prevoyance, et Royale Resolution desdits Sieurs Roys pour l'assurance liberté desdits païs, leur bien et conservation, ont unanimement accordé et consenty d'entrer en traité sur ladite proposée trefue. Mais craignant que leurs adversaires derechef ne voudront proceder de bonne foy; mais tascher de tenir lesdits Sieurs Roys et Païs-bas unis par longueurs et remises en incertitude, ils ont en conformité de ladite Resolution du vingt-troisieme Decembre de l'an 1607, de nouveau unanimement, sincerement, et de bonne foy promis l'un à l'autre, et promettent par cestes, qu'en cas du progres dudit traité sur ladite trefue, le premier article d'iceluy precisement sera maintenu comme s'ensuit. Premièrement, que lesdits Sieurs Archiducs declareront d'abondant comme ils declarent, tant en leurs noms qu'au nom dudit Sieur Roy, qu'ils sont contens de traiter avec lesdits Sieurs Estats Generaux des Provinces-unies, en qualité et comme les tenans pour Païs, Provinces,

vinces, et Estats libres sur lesquels ils ne pretendent rien, et faire avec eux és noms et qualitez susdites une trefue aux Conditions cy-apres escrits. Qu'aussi ne seront admis aucuns points és causes Ecclesiastiques ny Seculieres contre ladite Liberté, ny nouveaux delais sur le trafiq. et navigation aux Indes, ou autres articles. Et en cas que de le part dudit Sieur Roy d'Espagne ou de Archiducs soit soustenu le contraire, et qu'ils y persistent plus que huit jours, le traité fera rompu, les Roy d'Espagne et Archiducs mis en leur tort, et la guerre reprise avec vigueur et commune puissance des Pais-unis, et s'il est possible des Roys, Potentats, et Estats, favorisans leur cause, et par l'assistance de Dieu et bonne Conduite, suivant l'originelle et immuable intention des Sieurs Estats, mené à une Chrestienne, honorable, et assuré issue. Fait en l'assemblée desdits Sieurs Estats Generaux. A la Haye, le onzieme de Janvier, l'An 1609. Jean Oldembarnevelt V. Et plus bas, par l'Ordonnance desdits Seigneurs les Estats Generaux. Signé, Aërsens.

APPEND.
No. II.

Les Negotiations de Monsieur le President Jeannin, tom. 2.
p. 235—237.

No. III.

See Page 438.

“ **L** E S Sujets et Habitans és Pays desdits
 “ Sieurs Roy, Archiducs et Estats auront
 “ toute bonne Correspondance et Amitié par
 “ ensemble durant ladite Trefue, sans se ressentir
 “ des Offences et Dommages qu'ils ont reçu
 “ par

APPEND.
No. III.

“ par le passé, pourront aussi frequenter et sejour-
 “ ner és Païs l’un de l’autre, et y exercer leur Tra-
 “ fic et Commerce en toute seureté; tant par
 “ Mer, autres Eauës, que par Terre. Ce que
 “ toutesfois ledit Roy entend estre restreint et li-
 “ mité aux Royaumes, Païs, Terres, et Seig-
 “ neuries, qu’il tient et possède en l’Europe, et
 “ autres Lieux et Mers, où les Sujets des autres
 “ Roys et Princes qui sont ses Amis et Alliez
 “ ont ledit Trafic de gré à gré. Et pour le
 “ regard des Lieux, Villes, Ports, et Havres
 “ qu’il tient hors les Limites susdits, que lesdits
 “ Sieurs Estats et leur Sujets n’y puissent exercer
 “ aucun Trafic sans la Permission expresse dudit
 “ Sieur Roy. Bien pourront-ils faire ledit Trafic,
 “ si bon leur semble, és Païs de tous autres
 “ Princes, Potentats et Peuples, qui le leur vou-
 “ dront per mettre, mesme hors lescites Limites,
 “ sans que ledit Sieur Roy, ses Officiers et Sujets
 “ qui depend de luy, donnent aucun empesche-
 “ ment à cette occasion ausdits Princes, Potentats,
 “ et Peuples qui le leur auront permis, ny pareil-
 “ lement à eux, ou aux Particuliers avec lesquels
 “ ils ont fait et feront ledit Trafic.”

Les Negotiations de Mr. le President Jeannin, tom. 2.
 p. 449. Edition en 8, Ann. 1659.

In SPANISH, thus:

“ **L** E S Sujetos y Habitantes en los Países de
 “ los dichos Sennores Rey, Archiduques, y
 “ Estados, tendran toda buena correspondencia y
 “ amistad juntamente durante la dicha tregua sin
 “ monstrar sentimiento de las offensas y dannos
 “ que por lo passado han rescivido. Podran tam-
 “ bien

“ bien frequentar y hazer jornada en los países del
 “ uno y otro, y exercer y usar la Trafica y Co- APPEND.
No. III.
 “ mercio con toda seguridad, tan por mar, otras
 “ aguas, como por tierra. Lo que con todo esso
 “ el dicho Sennor Rey entiende ser ristricto y li-
 “ mitado en los Reinos, Países, Tierras, y Senno-
 “ rios, que tiene y posee en la Europa, y otros
 “ Lugares y Mares, donde los sujetos de los Reyes
 “ y Principes que son sus Amigos y Aliados tie-
 “ nen la dicha Trafica de bueno à bueno. Y por
 “ el respecto de los Lugares, Villas, Puertos, y
 “ Habras que tiene fuera los limites fuero dichos,
 “ que los dichos Sennores Estados y sus sujetos no
 “ puedan exercitar Trafica alguna sin expresso
 “ consentimiento del dicho Sennor Rey; bien
 “ podran ellos hazer la dicha Trafica, si bien les
 “ parescie, re en los países de todos los otros Prin-
 “ cipes, Potentados, y Pueblos, que quisieren
 “ permitirselo fuera los dichos limites, sin que el
 “ dicho Sennor Rey, sus Oficiales y sujetos que
 “ del dependen ò de baxo de su jurisdiccion, hagan
 “ algun ympedimiento en esta ocasion a los di-
 “ chos Sennores, Principes, Potentados, y Pueb-
 “ los que selo huvieren permitido ò permitiran;
 “ ni por el configuiente à ellos, ò à los particu-
 “ lares con quien ellos an hecho y haran la dicha
 “ Trafica.”

Historia de las Guerra Civiles que ha auido en los Estados
 de Flandes, des del anno 1559, hasta el de 1609; y las causas
 de la rebellion de dichos Estados; recopilada y escrita por el
 Contador Antonio Carnero, que lo hauido de los Exercitos de
 dichos Estados. En Bruselas, 1625. Folio; lib. 16. cap. 16.
 p. 560.

Lothian, William

The history of the United Provinces of the Netherlands from the death of
Philip II. King of Spain, to the truce made with Albert and Isabella

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